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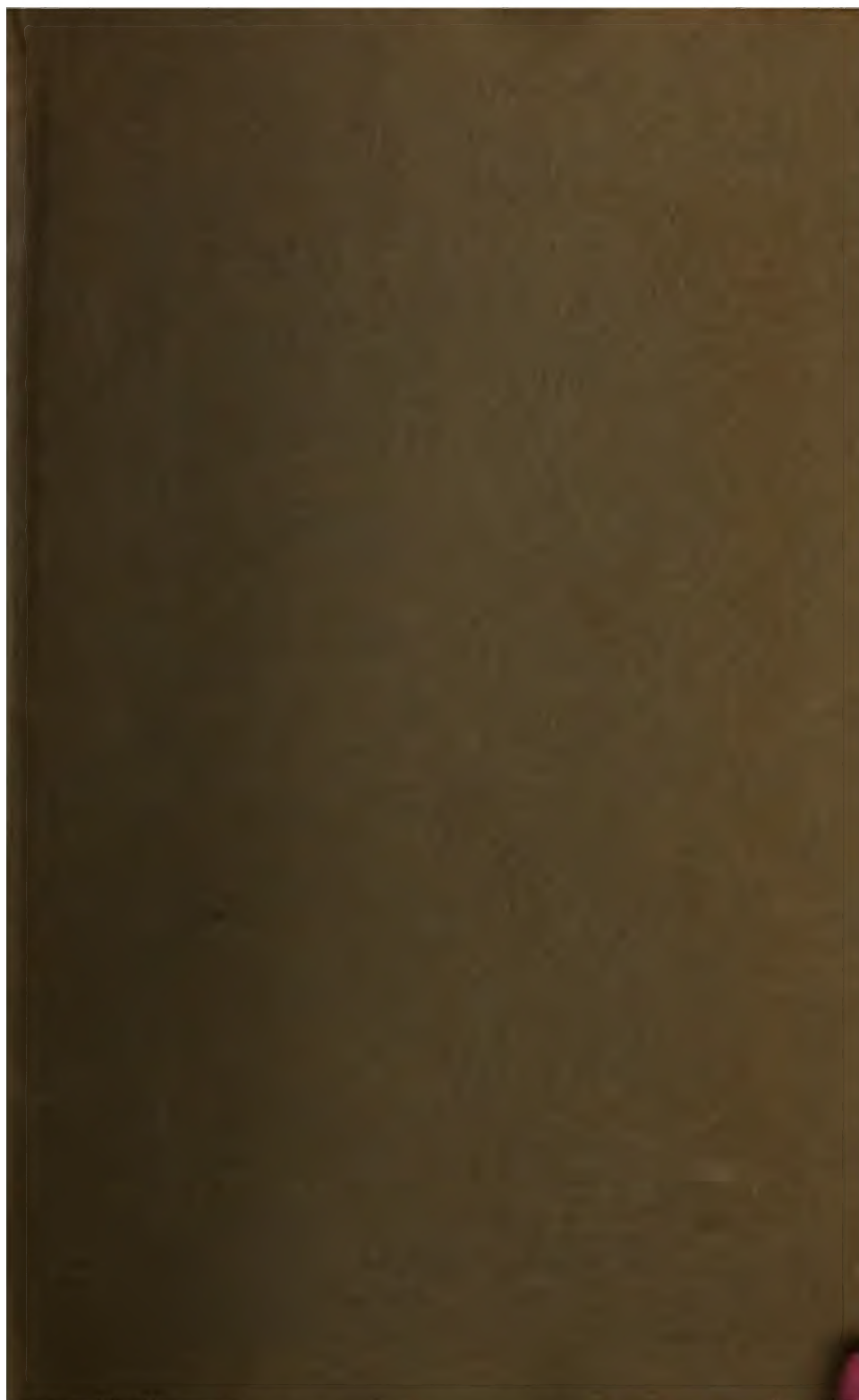
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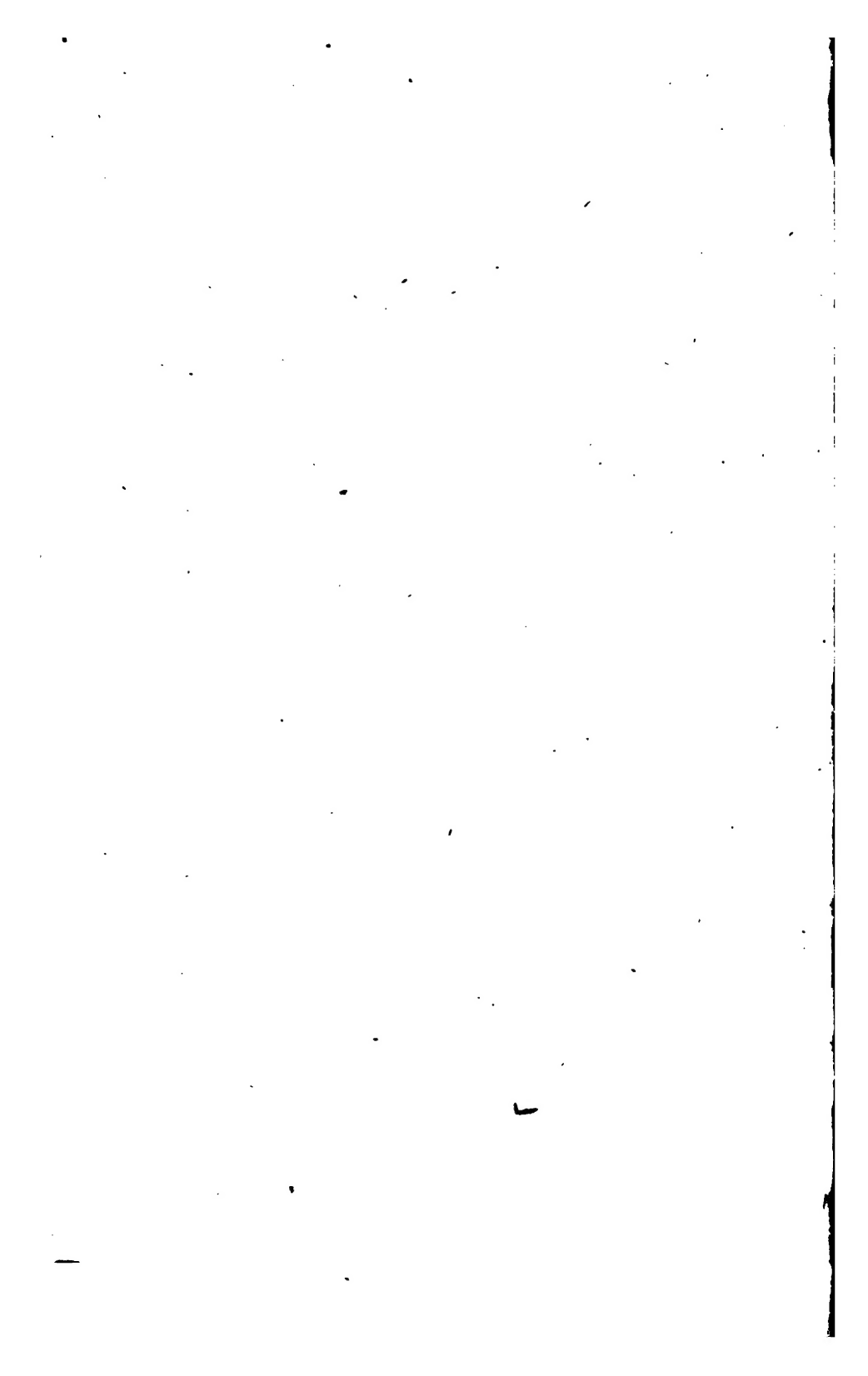
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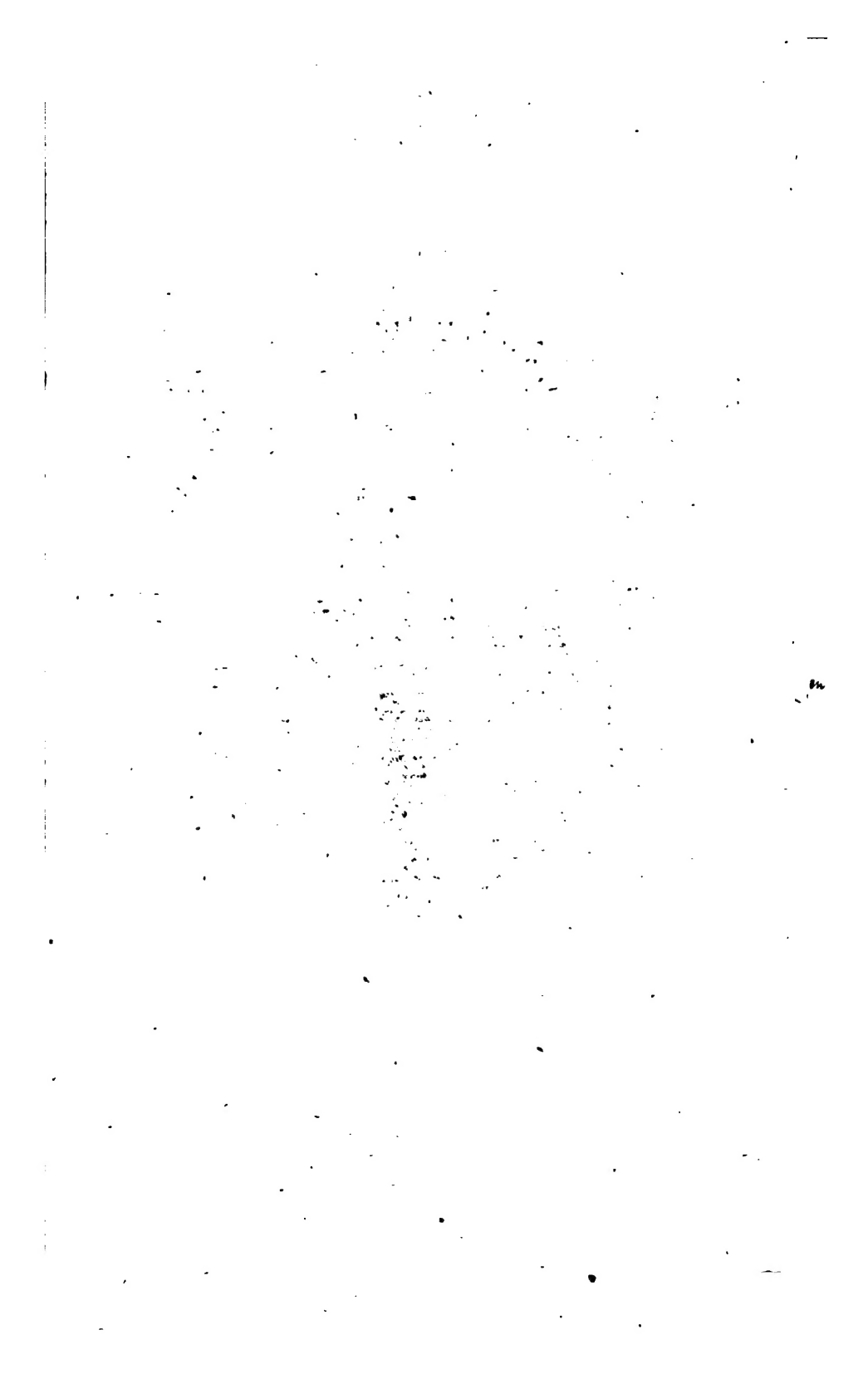




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A
VOYAGE to EAST-INDIA;

WHEREIN

Some Things are taken Notice of,

In our PASSAGE THITHER,

But MANY MORE in our ABODE THERE,

Within that RICH and most SPACIOUS

EMPIRE of the GREAT MOGUL:

MIXT WITH SOME

Parallel Observations and Inferences upon the Story,
to profit as well as delight the READER.

REPRINTED from the EDITION of 1655.

WITH COPPER-PLATES.

Observed by EDWARD TERRY;

Then Chaplain to the Right Hon. Sir THOMAS ROW, Knt.
Lord Ambaffador to the Great Mogul;

And afterwards Rector of the Church at Greenford, in Middlesex,

*one of the first
English clergymen
who ever visited
India*

In journeying often, in Perils of Waters, in Perils of Robbers, in Perils by
the Heathen, in Perils in the Sea. 1 Cor. xi. 26.

The Lord on high is mightier than the Noise of many Waters; yea, than the
mighty Waves of the Sea. Psal. xciii. 4.

—Digitis a Morte remotus
Quatuor, aut septem.—Juv. Sat. xii.
Qui nescit orare, discat navigare.
Ubique Naufragium.

L O N D O N;

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M.DCC.LXXV.





To the READER.

READER,

THERE never was an age more guilty than this present, of the great expence, and waste of paper : whose fair innocence hath been extremely flubber'd by errors, heresies, blasphemies, and what not, in these bold times : which like so many (the foulest of all) blots and blurs hath defiled very much of it ; so true is that of the Poet,

--- *Tenet insanabile multos*
Scribendi Cacoëthes.-----Juv.

Certainly there hath been of late abundantly more printed than ought, than should : and if what follows in this discourse lay under the guilt of any such just exception, it should feel the fire, not the press.

iv TO THE READER.

The sum and substance of what here follows (as a description of that empire) I long since composed, shortly after my return from East-India, and then presented it in writing unto the late King, when he was Prince of Wales, in the year 1622, with this short following epistle.

Most Renowned Prince,

I Have nothing to plead for this high presumption, but the novelty of my subject, in which I confess some few have prevented me, who by travelling India in England or Europe, have written somewhat of those remotest parts, but like unto poor tradesmen, who take up wares on trust, have been deceived themselves, and do deceive others.

For myself, I was an eye-witness of much here related, living more than two years at the court of that mighty monarch the great Mogul, (who prides himself very much in his most famous ancestor Tamerlane) in the description of whose empire, your Highness may meet with large territories, a numerous court, most populous, pleasant, and rich provinces; but when all these shall be laid in the balance against his miserable blindness, your highness shall have more cause to pity, than envy his greatness.

I am

TO THE READER. v

I am not ambitious to make this my relation public; and therefore if it consume more paper, it shall not be my fault: as it is, in a fearful boldness 'tis offered to your princely hands; and if it may be any way pleasing and useful, I have my reward; if not, my most humble desires to have ministred something this way unto your Highness, shall be my comfort.

Thus (reader) thou hearest when this relation was first written, and into what hands it was then put: and although there be now a very great space of time 'twixt the particulars then observed, and their publication now; which may make thee look upon that which is here brought forth, as an untimely birth, or as a thing born out of due time; therefore know (which may give thee some satisfaction herein) that for the commodities and discommodities of those remote parts; for the customs and manners of that people; for their religion and policy, with every thing beside (wherein thou may'st desire information) which lies within the vast compass of that huge monarchy expressed

a 3

vi TO THE READER.

fed in the map, and further described in this following discourse (time not making that people at all to vary from themselves) thou may'st look upon it now, as if it hath been taken notice of but immediately before it was here communicated ; and if it prove useful now, I shall be very glad that it was reserved even for this present time, wherein it might do some good.

Yet notwithstanding this, it should never have been brought by me into this more open view, (especially in such a scribbling writing age as this, where there is no end of making many books, and many of those written to no end but what is evil and mischievous) but that the Printer, who had gotten my original copy, presented as before, desired to publish it. And because so, I have revised, and in some particulars by pertinent, though in some places very long digressions, (which I would intreat the reader to improve) so enlarged it, that it may (if it reach my
aim)

d

aim) contain matter for instruction and use, as well as for relation and novelty. So that they who fly from a sermon, and will not touch sound, wholesome, and excellent treatises in divinity, may happily (if God so please) be taken before they are aware, and overcome by some divine truths that lie scattered up and down in many places of this narrative. To which end I have endeavoured so to contrive it for every one (that will please to read it through) that it may be like a well form'd picture, that seems to look stedfastly upon every beholder, who so looks upon it.

But here, reader, let us sit down and wonder that in these days (which are called times of reformation) many choice books are often published, which contain in themselves, and declare unto others, very much of the mind of God; yet are laid aside, as if they were not worth the looking into, and in their stead romances, and other pamphlets, *ejusdem farinae*, of the like kind, which
do

viii TO THE READER.

do not inform, but corrupt rather the minds of those which look so much into them, teaching wickedness while they seem to reprove it, are the books (O times!) which are generally called for, bought up, read, and liked.

When a traveller sometimes observed the women in Rome to please themselves in, and overmuch to play with their curs and monkeys, he asked whether or no the women of Rome did not bear children to delight themselves with. The story is so parallel to what I before observed, that he who runs may make application, and therefore I forbear to do it.

As for that I have here published, I know, *habent sua fata libelli*, that books have their fates, as well as their authors; and therefore this relation, now it is got into the world, must take its chance, whatsoever its success or acceptance be: but however, I shall never be of their mind, who think those books best, which best sell, when certain

tain it is that they are not to be valued by their good sale, but good use.--- Which, while some may make of this, others who love to carp, and censure, and quarrel, (so as to make a man an offender for a word) may put harsh interpretation upon some passages they may find in this following discourse: *Mala mens, malus animus*, an evil mind in itself, is an evil mind to all others. 'Twas said of Diogenes that he was *tuba convitiatorum*, the trumpet of reproaches; and that when he accused Plato of pride, he beat it down with greater pride. The grammarians were laughed at for taking so much pains to find out the faults of Ulysses, and would not take notice of any of their own. They are the worst of the creatures, that breed in, and delight to be ever stirring up and down in corruption. But I would have all, who have an eye standing too far out of their heads, and are therefore apt to see more in others than themselves, and
con-

x TO THE READER.

consequently may observe more than is meant, from some passages of this book to bound all their conceivings as to what they may find here within the compass of it, by that rule, which holds good in charity and law, and is true in divinity likewise, *in dubiis benigniora*, that when any thing delivered may bear two interpretations, to take the fairest.

And now that this following relation may not appear to be a loss, either of time or paper, he that shall please to read it, in our passage to East-India may observe very large foot-steps of the Almighty, in his works of creation and providence. And when I have brought him thither on shore, he may find that there is not one question (as before) of any consequence concerning those parts I have undertaken to write of, but it finds satisfaction in one part or other of this discourse. For the court there, there is so much riches and splendour sometimes to be seen in it, that it may draw up the meditations of those who
behold

behold it, as the thoughts of Fulgentius sometimes were, (when he beheld the glory of the court of Rome) raised up seriously to consider of the glory of Heaven. And for the soil, it is exceeding pleasant, rich, and good, as in some other parts of the world, where the inhabitants are mere strangers to God; and if almighty God hath given such sweet places of abode here on the earth to very many whom he owns not, how transcendently glorious is that place which he hath prepared for those that love him.

Yet for the inhabitants there, a man may clearly see the law of nature to be so engraved upon the hearts of very many, both Pagans and Mahometans; as that it may make multitudes, who profess themselves Christians, (if they would but turn their eyes inward) extremely to wonder how it comes to be so much worn out of theirs.

And then he may further behold such temperance, justice, and unwearied

xii To THE READER.

ried devotion, (but in a wrong way) with many other excellent moralities, so to shine in them, that by this very light he may see thousands of those (whom before I named) that have means to know, and therefore should do better, in many things to come exceeding short of them, who (themselves are ready to conclude) come short of Heaven.

But I shall not further anticipate my discourse, in being like a vain-glorious entertainer, who fills the ears of his guests with his dishes, before they see or taste them. Which if thou shall please to do, read on, and thou art very welcome however.

Farewell.

Edward Terry.



*To his worthy Friend Mr. EDWARD TERRY,
on his Voyage to EAST-INDIA.*

I.

WORTH will break prison, tho' detain'd awhile
To try its truth ; yet lends the world a smile
At last : the glorious all-ey'd sun, tho' late,
Defies its cloud, asserts its native state,
And in a sovereign grandeur doth arise
To scorn those mists that aim'd it to disguise :
So doth thine Indian voyage, after years
In silence buried, please our eyes and ears :
Not with Utopian fancies, nor with vain
Delusions, brought unto us from the main
Invention, backt with boldness, so set out
As if we must believe, nor dare to doubt :
No, thou to those appeal'st, whose knowledge can
Upbraid thee, if thou over-act the man,
Thou seem'st to be ; thou by his light hast gone,
Who knows exactly what is wrote, or done.

II.

The world's a theatre, in which each wight
His part doth act, the body to the sprite
But shadow. Faces differ nothing more
Than do the souls, which flesh hath cover'd o'er.
One wedg'd is to the gain of homestays ; when
Another counts his home a lazer's den.
A third man proves so active, that he knows
No bounds but his vast fancy overflows :
With Alexander he to India flies,
Not it to conquer, but to please his eyes:

No

No sea, no danger, no amazing foe,
~~Gives~~ his brave emulation overthrow.
 Leviathan's a gudgeon ; he can vie
 With Behemoth ; no monster makes him fly.
 Hurry'd he is from east to west, and thence
 North, south, to compass earth's circumference :
 Here picks he up a rarity ; anon
 Posts to some new discover'd horizon,

III.

Wetland they are, who mak't their greatest aim
 To rise earth, only to purchase fame.
 But you, through hazardous torrid zones arrive,
 To bring some honey to your country's hive.
 No spices, orient pearls, no tissues are
 Thy traffic ; these with thee accounted ware
 For peddling dolts ; thy venture no return
 Admits, but what enrich the mental urn,
 And makes thy readers, at thy pains, appear
 Acquainted with the south-east hemisphere ;
 Wherein rare secrets of dame Nature lie
 Couch'd, but discover'd knowledge multiply.
 Well fare thy noble mind, which gives us cause
 To view in it the force of nature's laws
 Read in these Indians : Proceed, and let us know
 What other fruits within thine India grow,
 And tell us what thou know'st. A man's not born
 To see and to observe for's self alone.
 But to succession we grow still in debt ;
 Worth lives, when dead ; day lasts, tho' sun be set.

EDWARD WATERHOUSE, Esq.

*To my ancient Friend Mr. EDWARD TERRY,
on his INDIAN Voyages.*

Geographers present before mens eyes
Show every land seated and boundless lies;
But she! his torian, and wife traveller,
Descry what minds and manners sojourn there.
The common merchant brings thee home such ware
As makes thy garment wanton, or thy fare:
But this! hath traffic in a better kind,
To please and profit both thy virtuous mind.
He shews what reason finds in her dim night
By gazing after God with nature's light;
Into what smooth paths those nations stray
Whom God permits to walk in their own ways.
And how the sun, a lamp to seek God by,
Dazzles some eyes into idolatry.
Read it, and thou wilt make this gain at least,
To love thyself, thy God, and country best.

HENRY ASHWOOD.

*To my ingenious Friend and dear Kinsman, the
Author of these Relations.*

THOUGH most geographers have the good map
To travel in a safe expenceless map;
And while the world to us they represent,
No further yet than pilgrim Purchas went;
Past Dover's dreadful cliff afraid to go,
And took the Land's-end for the world's end too;
Span'd countries at the fingers ends at ease;
Crack'd with their nail all France, turn'd blots to seas;
Of whom this strong line we may ridling say,
They travel not, but sit still a great way.

I must

I must applaud, whether thy choice, or lot,
 Which hath beyond their lazy knowledge got,
 Who only in the globe do cross the line,
 There raise the pole, and draw whole maps in wine
 Spill'd on the table ; measure seas and lands
 By scale of miles wherein their compass stands.
 But you, the truth's eye-witness, have not been
 Homer i'th' dark, but what you write have seen :
 A rich and absolute prince, whose mighty hand
 Indus and Ganges solely doth command ;
 A numerous people, wealthy traffic, new
 Manners, and men, things wonderful and true.
 Some relicks of the ancient Bramins race,
 And what religious follies yet take place ;
 Whose pious errors, though they want our sense,
 Have in less knowledge more of conscience :
 Whe, to condemn our barren light, advance
 A just, obedient, humble ignorance.
 While vice here seeks a voluntary night,
 As over-glitter'd with too clear a light ;
 Neglected love, and the fair truth's abuse,
 Hath left our guilty blushes no excuse ;
 And their blind zeal 'gainst us a witness stands,
 Who having so good eyes, have lost our hands.
 This you with pious faithfulness declare,
 Nor quit the preacher for the traveller.
 And though these leaves nothing to merchants owe
 For spices, cochineal, or indico :
 Yet all confess, who weigh the gains you brought,
 Your ship was laden with a richer freight ;
 While the glad world, by you instructed, sings,
 " Wisdom's the noblest ware that travel brings."

ROBERT CRESWELL.

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A

VOYAGE to EAST-INDIA:

W I T H

A Description of the large Territories

U N D E R T H E

Subjection of the Great MOGUL.

AP O L O G I E S do more question than strengthen Truth; which Truth hathi such power in prevailing, that she doth not know, and much less need, the use of preface, or words of persuasion to get her credit; for though she appear simple and naked, unto open view, yet dares she encounter with armed Falshood, and is sure at last to overcome; which Truth being the best ornament of this ensuing discourse, looks to be credited, in what is here faithfully related.

Veritas est vita historiae.

B

Some

2 *A VOYAGE to EAST-INDIA, &c.*

*Some that in countries far remote have been,
And safe return'd, write more than known, than
seen,
Or heard; that boldness here disclaim shall I;
Truth is the life and soul of history.*

So to make a re-entry upon a long-since finished voyage.—The 3^d of February, 1615, our Fleet—consisting of six good ships, three great, viz. the Charles, admiral of that company, then a new-built goodly ship of a thousand tons, (in which I sailed) the Unicorn, a new ship likewise, and almost of as great a burden; the James, a great ship too; three lesser, viz. the Globe, the Swan, the Rose, (all under the command of Capt. Benjamin Joseph)—fell down from Grave's-End into Tilbury-Hope, where we continued 'till the 8th day following; when we weighed anchor, and by a flow, that we might have the safer passage, the 12th came into the Downs; where an adverse wind forced our abode 'till the 9th of March; on which day it pleased God to send us, what we had much desired, a north-east wind, which made us leave that weary road, and set sail to East-India; and the 11th, about night, we were in the height of the Lizard, in Cornwall; and that day, for that time, took our last sight of our country.

This wind was favourable to us, 'till the 16th day, at night; at which time a most fearful storm met us, we being then in the bay of Portugal, whose violence continued five whole

whole days and nights; and that tempest was the most lively and real comment that ever I observed, on that place recorded in Psal. 107, v. 23, &c. thus rendered :

*In winged ships, who passage make,
And through vast seas their journies take;
See, while their ships in billows keep,
God's works, and wonders in the deep;
Who there commands the winds to storm;
These mount the waves, on which are borne
The tottering ships, on wat'ry heaps,
Now high to th' Heav'ns, then low to th' deeps;
The seamen's hearts they melt for woe,
Nor head, nor foot, their office know;
They reel like to a drunken one,
And stagger, for their wisdom's gone.
Then cry they to the Lord, in these
Great streights, and he them bears, them frees;
The winds and waves obey God's will,
The storm's a calm, the waves lie still;
Then are they glad——&c.*

The 28th we had sight of the Grand Canaries, and of that mountain in the island of Teneriffe, commonly called the Peak.

*Qui—caput inter nubila condit.
————— so high,
As that it threats the neighbouring sky.
Or, ——— that shrouds
Its lofty head amongst the clouds.*

This over-grown rise of earth, is in shape like to a pyramid, or sugar-loaf, circled, and
B 2 wrapt

4 A VOYAGE to EAST-INDIA, &c.

wrapt about with many wreaths of clouds, which encompass it by several distances; as first, earth, then clouds, above which the earth appears again, then clouds again, then earth; the top of it being of such an immense height, that it may be as truly said of this, as Virgil, Eclogue 5, writes of Olympus:

*Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi,
Sub pedibusque videt nubes, & sidera.—*

*So beautiful, it Heaven's unwonted spires,
And clouds, and stars, under its feet admires.*

This Peak of Teneriffe, in a clear day, may be seen (if the mariners report truth) more than forty leagues at sea. These islands lie 28 degrees of north latitude.

The 31st, being Easter-day, we passed under the tropic of Cancer; and the 7th of April the sun was our zenith, or vertical, at noon-day, directly over our heads; which we found by this infallible demonstration, made by a slender knife, or long needle, set upright, which did cast no shadow. The sun in this course like the equinoctial, divides the globe of the Heavens in two equal parts; and in this motion riseth so directly, or upright, that there is but a very little time 'twixt the darkness and the appearance of the body of the sun in the morning; for 'tis dark immediately before the sun then appears; and so 'tis in the evening, presently after the sun hath left the hemisphere. Here we were becalmed fourteen days, enduring extreme heat.

The

The 16th we met with winds, (we being then against, and not far from the coasts of *Africa*) which the mariners call the Turnadoes; very strange gusts indeed, like those in *Æschylus*, on the shore, *Æsc.* πρηνεῖς Δισμυεῖς (*ad finem.*)

——— γρήβοι δὲ πόντος
 Εὐλοσσῶσι, σπυρὰ δ' ἀέμας
 Πυρίμαλα πᾶσι καὶ ἑλλὰς,
 Στάσει ἀντίπρην ἀποδικυρμένα.

——— *Whirlwinds around
 Hurry the dust; the blasts rebound,
 Storming on all sides: thus together,
 Enraged gusts oppose each other.*

Or like those in *Virgil* at sea, *Æneid* 1, verse 85, &c.

*Hæc ubi dicta, cavum conversa cuspide montem
 Impulit in latus: at venti velut agmine facto,
 Quà data porta, ruunt, & terras turbine perflant.
 Incubere mari, totumque à sedibus imis
 Unà curusque notusque ruunt, creberque procellis
 Africus: & vastos volvunt ad littora fluctus.*

*Thus said, with his spear's point the hollow bill
 He turn'd aside, the winds left to their will
 All fall'ng out, and blustering through the world
 Fall on the sea, which from the depths is burl'd
 By th' east, and south at once, and stormy north,
 Which to the shore, huge wallowing waves roll
 forth.*

Those self-opposing blasts we there had, were so variable and uncertain, that sometimes

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within the space of one hour, all the thirty-two several winds, (which are observed in so many points of the compass) will blow, so that if there be many ships in company, you may observe them all to sail so many several ways, and every one of them seem to go directly before the wind. Now, that it should be so here, and not known so to be in any part of the world beside I ever heard of, (if not in those winds, which they say are sometimes fold by the Lapland witches) I can give no reason for it; unless Satan, that prince of the air, (who is most tyrannical where he is most obeyed) seems to rule more here than he doth in other parts. And most certain it is that he rules very much in the inhabitants on that main, the poor, ignorant, and most miserable negroes, born for sale, slavery, and slaughter. These strange gusts were accompanied with much thunder and lightning, and with extreme rain, so noisome, that it made their clothes, who stirred much in it, presently to stink upon their backs; the water likewise of those slimy, unwholsome, hot, and unsavoury showers, wheresoever it stood, would presently bring forth many little offensive creatures. These Turnadoes met with us, when we were about 12 degrees of north latitude, and kept us company e're they quitted us two degrees southward of the equinoctial, under which we passed the 28th of April.

The 19th of May, being Whit-Sunday, we passed the tropic of Capricorn, so that we
were

were seven weeks compleat under the torrid zone.

Between the tropics we saw (almost every day) different kinds of fishes, in greater abundance than elsewhere ; as the great Leviathan, whom God hath made to take his pastime in the sea ; grampusses, or lesser whales, sharks, turtles, or tortoises, dolphins, bonitoes, albacores, porpoises, flying fishes, with many others. Some whales we saw of an exceeding greatness, who in calm weather often arise and shew themselves on the top of the water, where they appear like unto great rocks, in their rise, spouting up into the air, with noise, a great quantity of water, which falls down again about them like a shower. The whale may well challenge the principality of the sea ; yet I suppose he hath many enemies in this his large dominion ; for instance, a little long fish, called a thresher, often encounters with him, who by his agility vexeth him as much in the sea, as a little bee in summer doth a great beast on the shore.

The shark hath not this name for nothing ; for he will make a morsel of any thing he can catch, master, and devour. These sharks are most ravenous fishes ; for I have many times observed, that when they have been swimming about our ships (as oftentimes they do) and we have cast overboard an iron hook, made strong for this purpose, fastened to a rope strong like it, baited with a piece of beef of five pounds weight, this bait hath been pre-

sently taken by one of them ; and if by chance the weight of the fish, thus taken, in haling him up, hath broken out the hook's hold, not well fastened, (as sometimes it did) so that he fell again into the sea, he would presently bite at any other bait, and so bite 'till he was taken : Not much unlike many vile men, who think they may safely take any thing they can finger and get ; and having been fastened in, and escaped out of many snares, will take no warning, but be still nibbling and biting at what they like ; not once considering, that there is a hook within the bait, that will take them at last, and hamper them, to their unavoidable destruction. This sea-shark is a fish as bad in eating as he is in quality, a very moist watry fish, yet eaten at sea, (because any fresh thing will there go down) but no good food. This fish turns himself on his back to take his prey, by which he gives warning to many other little fishes, who ever swim about him, to avoid his swallow. Those fishes that thus keep him company, are called by the mariners, pilate fishes, who always shape their course the same way the shark takes, and by consequence (nature having made them so wary) he becomes their guard, not they his food. And there are other fishes, they call sucking-fish, that stick so close to the body of the shark, as a tick on the shore doth to the body of a beast, and so receive their nourishment from him, and he must be contented, for while he is swimming up and
down,

down, he cannot possibly free himself of them. Many of these sharks grow to a very large greatness; they have a broad round head, in which are three rows of teeth, very strong and sharp, by which they are able to take off the leg of a man at one bite; as some have found, by woeful experience, while they have been carelessly swimming in these hot seas, where these sharks most use; and certainly, were they as nimble as they are mischievous, would do very much hurt.

The turtle, or tortoise, is one of those creatures we call *amphibia*, that lives sometimes in the sea, and sometimes on the shore; he is marvellously fortified by nature, dwelling (as it were) continually under a strong roof, which moves with him, and covers (when he will) his whole body; therefore *testudo*, which signifies a tortoise, signifies also the roof or vault of an house, which covers all within it. Those concave backs, (like bucklers, but of an oval shape) that cover these creatures, are many of them so exceeding strong, that they will bear off the weight of a cart wheel. These tortoises increase by eggs, (as I have been often told) are very good to eat; the substance within them (whether you call it flesh or fish) first boiled, and after minced with butter, tastes like buttered veal. Their shell makes (as is very commonly known) excellent good combs, cups, or boxes; and further, it is used by them in East-India, to make or adorn little or great cabinets.

The

The dolphin, is a fish, called for his swiftness the arrow of the sea, differing in this one particular from all other fishes I ever observed, in that he hath many little teeth upon the top of his tongue. He is very pleasing to the eye, smell, and taste; of a changeable colour, shin'd like a roach, cover'd with many small scales, having a fresh delightful scent above other fishes, and in taste as good as any. These dolphins are wont often to follow our ships, not so much I think for the love they bear unto man, (as some write) as to feed themselves with what they find cast over-board; whence it comes to pass that many times they feed us; for when they swim close to our ships, we often strike them with a broad instrument, full of barbs, called an harping-iron, fastened to a rope; by which we haul them in. This dolphin may be a fit emblem of an ill race of people, who under sweet countenances carry sharp tongues.

Bonitoes, and albicores, are in colour, shape, and taste, much like unto mackarel, and as good fish as they; but they grow to be very exceeding large.

The porpoises, or hog-fish, are like the former, very large and great, but better to look upon than to taste; they usually appear at sea in very great shoals or companies; and are (as if they came of the race of the Gadaren swine, that ran violently into the sea) very swift in their motion, and like a company marching in rank and file; they leap or mount
very

very nimbly over the waves, and so down and up again, making a melancholy noise when they are above the water; these are usually, when they thus appear, certain presagers of very foul weather.

The flying fishes have skinny wings like unto bats, but larger; they are stiffened and strengthened with many little bones, such as are in the back fins of perches, by which they fly, but a little way at a time; they have small bodies, like unto pilchards, and appear when they fly in marvellous great companies; and some of them often fly into our ships, by which we have tasted they are excellent good fish. Of all other, the flying fishes live the most miserable lives; for being in the water, the dolphins, bonitoes, albacores, and porpoises, chase, persecute, and take them; and when they would escape by their flight, are often times caught by ravenous fowls, somewhat like our kites, which hover over the water. These flying fishes are like men professing two trades, and thrive at neither.

I could further enlarge, but my business is not to write an history of fishes; yet in those we have named, as in thousands more which inhabit that watery main, I desire with David to admire and say, "O Lord, how manifold are thy works!" manifold and wonderful indeed; as he that will take notice may observe every where, but in an especial manner (because they are more rare) in the great variety of strange creatures, which the sea, that womb
of

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of moisture, brings forth; in which many things we behold are wonderful, and many things besides, which we cannot see, are certainly more full of wonder.

*In which unfathom'd wat'ry deep,
Creatures innumerable keep;
Some small, some great, among the waves,
As if they liv'd in moving graves:
Through which the ships do plow their way,
In which the whales do sport and play.*

Pſalm 104, v. 24, 25, 26.

But to proceed on our voyage.—The 12th of June, early in the morning, we espied our long-wished-for harbour, the bay of Souldania, about twelve leagues short of the Cape of Good Hope, where we came happily to an anchor that forenoon. In which bay we found a Dutch ship, bound for Bantam, which had taken in her course, and brought thither, a small Portugal ship, bound to Angola, a colony belonging to the Portuguese, lying in the skirts of Africa, about ten degrees south of the line; in which small ship, amongst many rich commodities (as we heard) to the value of five or six thousand pounds sterling, there were ten Portugal virgins, (as they called themselves) sent to that colony I suppose for husbands. The young women were well favoured, and well clad in silks; but such were the courtesies of these Dutchmen towards them, as that they took not only away all the goods, artillery, and good provisions of their ship,

ship, but they robb'd these poor captive maidens of all their apparel, (which they most sadly complained of) to one poor suit, (and I suppose of their honour too, if they brought it with them) then giving them water for their wine, and a very scanty proportion of all other provisions, turn'd them, with their unarm'd, leaky, and ill-mann'd ship, to the mercy of the seas, the twentieth day following.

This bay of Souldania lieth in 34 degrees and a half of south latitude; in a sweet climate, full of fragrant herbs, (which the soil produceth of itself) pleasing to the sense; where our ships companies, when they have often-times there arriv'd with very weak and feeble bodies, usually by that sea disease, the scurvy; in which disease (I shall observe by the way) if any that have it be not too much overgone with it, as soon as he comes to enjoy the fresh air on any shore, the fresh water, and fresh food, he will presently recover; but if this disease have over much prevailed on him, immediately after he sets his foot on shore he usually dies. I say our people, when they have come hither with very crazy bodies, have often found here much good refreshing; for besides a most delectable brook of pure good water, arising hard by out of a mighty hill, (called from its form, the Table; close by which there is another hill, which riseth exceeding high, like a pyramid, and called by passengers, the Sugar-loaf) there are good store of cattle, as little beeves,

beeves, called by the barbarous inhabitants, Boos; and sheep, which they call Baas, who bear a short, coarse, hairy wool, and I conceive are never shorn. These Boos and Baas, as they call them, were formerly bought in great plenty, for small quantities of kettle-brass, and iron hoops taken off our empty casks, which were all for this long voyage hoop'd with iron. These savages had their cattle, which we bought of them, at a very great command, for with a call they would presently run to them; and when they had sold any one of their bullocks to us, for a little inconsiderate piece of brass; if we did not presently knock him down, they would by the same call make the poor creature break from us, and run unto them again; and then there was no getting them out of their hands, but by giving them more brass; and by this trick now and then they sold the same beast unto us two or three times; and if they had thus sold him more often, he had been a good pennyworth; however, in this we might observe the covetousness and deceit of this brutish people. Here ye must know that these people of all metals seem to love brass, I think (as you may guess afterward) for the rankness of its smell; with which they make great rings to wear about their wrists; yea so taken are they with this base metal, that if a man lay down before them a piece of gold worth two pounds sterling, and a piece of brass worth two-pence, they will leave the gold, and take

take the brass. On this shore there likewise are found, excellent good, though small roots for sallads, which the soil brings forth without husbanding; and in the head of the bay may be taken with nets, great store of fair fat mullets, of which we took abundance.

This remotest part of Africa is very mountainous, over-run with wild beasts, as lions, tigers, wolves, and many other beasts of prey, which in the silent night discover themselves by their noise and roaring; to the teeth and jaws of which cruel beasts, the natives here expose their old people, if death prevent it not, when once they grow very old and troublesome, laying them forth in some open place, in the dark night, "When the wild beasts (as David observes, Psal. 104, v. 20, 21) do creep forth, and the young lions roar after their prey." One miserable poor old wretch was thus exposed when we were there; who by his piteous cries was discovered by our court of guard, there on shore, and not far off from him, and by them relieved and delivered for that present time out of the jaws of death; and we asking Coeree, one of the natives, (whose story you shall have by and by) why they did so? he told us it was their custom, when their people had lived so long, that they knew not what to do with them, thus to be rid of them.

We saw in this bay of Souldania many whales; and about the shore divers party-coloured fowls; and here are ostriches to be seen.

seen. For the soil about the bay, it seems to be very good ; but the sun shines not upon a people in the whole world more barbarous than those which possess it ; beasts in the skins of men, rather than men in the skins of beasts ; as may appear by their ignorance, habit, language, diet ; with other things, which make them most brutish.

First, for God, the great God of Heaven and Earth, whom generally all the people in the world, Heathen as well as Christians, do confess ; they (as this Cooree told us) acknowledge none. For their speech it seemed to us inarticulate noise, rather than language, like the clucking of hens, or gabbling of turkeys ; and thus making a very strange confused noise, when they walk here or there : If there be two, or three, or five, or ten, or twenty, or very many more in company, it is their manner to walk in rank one after the other, in small paths they have made by their thus walking, as kine in summer many times do when they come home to the pail ; and as wild-geese who fly in ranks, and as they fly make a noise ; so these walking together thus gabble from the first to the last in company, as if all spake, but none answered. Their habits are their sheep skins undrest, thonged together, which cover their bodies to the middle, with a little flap of the same skin tied before them, being naked downward ; and when 'tis cold keep the woolly, when hotter weather, the fleshy side of those skins next to their bodies. Their ornaments

ornaments and jewels, bullocks or sheeps guts, full of excrement, about their necks; and therefore when we bought their cattle, they would take (and we were content they should) their skins, guts, and garbage, which plentifully furnished them with that rich attire, and gay ornaments; and when they were hungry, they would sit down upon some hillock, first shaking out some of that filthy pudding out of the guts they wore about their necks, then bowing and bringing their mouths to their hands, almost as low as their knees, like hungry dogs would gnaw and eat the raw guts; when you may conceive their mouths full of sweet green sauce. The women, as the men, are thus adorned, thus habited, and thus dieted; only they wear more about their lower parts than the men; and (by the way) these carry their sucking infants under their skins upon their backs, and their breasts (hanging down like bag-pipes) they put up with their hands to their children, that they may suck them over their shoulders. Both sexes make coverings for their heads like to skull-caps, with cow-dung, and such like filth, mingled with a little stinking grease, with which they likewise besmear their faces, which makes their company insufferable, if they get the wind of you. I observed, that some of the rest of their diet was agreeable to the former; for they would eat any refuse thing, as rotten and mouldy biscuits, which

we have given them, fit indeed for nothing but to be cast away ; yea, they will eat that which a ravenous dog in England will refuse. I once took notice of a couple of them, who had found on the neighbouring shore a large piece of a dead fish the sea had cast up, which did most sufficiently stink ; they presently made a little fire with dry cow-dung, and with this they warm'd it, and then eat it, with as much seeming appetite as a hungry man with us would feed upon a very choice and savoury dish ; which makes me almost to believe, that those wretched creatures have but three senses, wanting the benefit both of smelling and tasting. They lodge upon the earth in hovels, so ill covered that they keep not out the weather, made like to those we call summer-houses, with boughs and sticks.

Et pecus, & Dominus communi clauditur umbrâ.

*The beast and's master under one shade dwell ;
But which the veriest beast, is hard to tell.*

These brutes devote themselves to idleness, for they neither dig nor spin. For their stature and make, they are very strait, and well-limb'd, though not very tall ; but in their faces very ill-favoured, for the noses of most of them are flat. They have little or no beard ; the hair on their heads short, black and curled ; their skins very tawny ; swift they are of foot, and will throw darts and shoot arrows, which are their weapons, very dangerously.

Methinks

Methinks, when I have seriously considered the dresses, the habitations, and the diet of this people, with other things, and how these beasts of mankind live like brutes, nay worse, I have thought that if they had the accommodations we enjoy, (to make our lives more comfortable) by good dwelling, warm cloathing, sweet lodging, and wholesome food, they would be abundantly pleased with such a change of their condition : For as love proceeds from knowledge and liking, and we can neither love nor like any thing we cannot know ; so when we come to a sensible understanding of things we knew not before ; when the belly teaches, and the back instructs, a man would believe that these should work some strong convictions. But I shall here insert a short story. About three years before I went to India, it happened, that one of the company's ships returning thence, and arriving at this harbour, after a little stay, when she was ready to set sail for England, and having then two of those savages aboard, her commander resolved to bring them both home with him ; thinking, that when they had got some English here, they might discover something of their country which we could not know before. These poor wretches being thus brought away, very much against both their minds, one of them (merely out of extreme fullness, though he was very well used) died shortly after they put to sea ; the other, who call'd himself Cooree,

(whom I mentioned before) lived; and was brought to London, and there kept, for the space of six months, in Sir Thomas Smith's house, (then governor of the East-India company) where he had good diet, good cloaths, good lodging, with all other fitting accommodations. Now one would think that this wretch might have conceived his present, compared with his former condition, an Heaven upon Earth; but he did not so, though he had to his good entertainment made for him a chain of bright brass, an armour, breast, back, and head-piece, with a buckler, all of brass, his beloved metal; yet all this contented him not, for never any seemed to be more weary of ill usage, than he was of courtesies; none ever more desirous to return home to his country, than he; for when he had learned a little of our language, he would daily lie upon the ground, and cry very often thus in broken English, "Coree home go, Souldania go, home go;" and not long after, when he had his desire, and was returned home, he had no sooner set footing on his own shore, but presently he threw away his cloaths, his linen, with all other covering, and got his sheepskins upon his back, guts about his neck, and such a perfum'd cap, as before we named, upon his head; by whom that proverb mentioned, 2 Pet. 2, v. 22, was literally fulfill'd, *Canis ad vomitum*; "the dog is return'd to his vomit, and the swine to his wallowing in the mire."

mire." From all which we may draw this conclusion, that a continued custom may make many things that seem strange and loathsome to some, even natural to others ; and that the most brutish life may seem civil, and best to a most brutish man ; and he thus pleading for it.

*Custom the nurse of nature oft' is prov'd,
Like nurses, than the mother more belov'd.
Thus bestial crimes men by their wont excuse,
And love not what is good, but what they use.
So Plutarch's Gryllus argues, (turn'd a swine)
Against the laws that wit and arts refine ;
Affirms that man, too curiously nice,
Bought his poor reason at too dear a price ;
Since all his actions limited must be,
By measur'd rules, when beasts have liberty ;
And unconfin'd on nature's common feed,
No lawyer, no physician, taylor need.
Cloaths are but marks of shame, medicines but show
Diseases, and we laws to quarrels owe :
Cooks are the instruments of luxury,
Painters of lust, builders of vanity.
Let all then live as nature them produc'd,
And frame their manners as they have been us'd.*

'Tis most strange that a creature who hath any thing of reason in him, should thus degenerate, thus plead, or thus do ; but it is most true in these, as of millions more of brutish Heathens in the world, who live as if they had nothing at all of man left in them.

*For man, the worst of brutes when chang'd to beast,
Counts to be civiliz'd, to be oppress'd ;*

*And as he tames hawks, and makes lions mild,
By education ; so himself grows wild.*

After this fellow was returned, it made the natives most shy of us when we arrived there ; for though they would come about us in great companies when we were new come thither ; yet three or four days before they conceiv'd we would depart thence, there was not one of them to be seen ; fearing belike we would have dealt with some more of them, as formerly we had done with Cooree. But it had been well if he had not seen England ; for as he discovered nothing to us, so certainly when he came home, he told his country-men (having doubtless observed so much here) that brass was but a base and cheap commodity in England ; and happily we had so well stored them with that metal before, that we had never after such a free exchange of our brass and iron for their cattle. It was here that I asked Cooree who was their God ? he lifting up his hands answered thus, in his bad English,—“ England God, great God, Souldania no God.”

Now if any one desires to know under whose command these brutes live, or whether they have any superiority or subordination amongst themselves, or whether they live with their females in common, with many other questions that might be put, I am not able to satisfy them ; but this I look upon as a great happiness, not to be born one of them ; and as great, nay a far greater

greater misery, to fall from the loins of civil and Christian parents, and after to degenerate into all brutishness, as very many do, *qui gentes agunt sub nomine Christianorum*; the thing which Tertullian did most sadly bewail in many of his time, who did act Atheism under the name of Christianity, and did even shame religion by their light and loose professing of it. When Anacharsis, the philosopher, was some time upbraided with this, that he was a Scythian by birth; he presently returned this quick and smart answer unto him that cast that in his teeth; *Mibi quidem patria est dedecus, tu autem patria*; my country indeed is some disparagement to me, but thou art a disgrace to thy country, as there may be many thousands more beside, who are very burdens to the good places that give them breath and bread. Alas, Turkey, and Barbary, and these Africans, with many millions more in that part of the world, and in America and in Asia, aye and Europe too, would wring their hands into pieces, if they were truly sensible of their condition, because they know so little: And so shall infinite numbers more one day, born in the visible church of God, *in the valley of visions*, *Esf. 22, v. 1*, have their very hearts broken into shivers, because they knew so much, or might have known so much, and have known and done so little; for without all doubt, the day will one day come, when they who have sinned against the strongest means of grace and sal-

vation, shall feel the heaviest misery, when their means to know God, in his will revealed in his word, shall be put in one ballance, and their improvement of this means by their practice in the other ; and if there have not been some good proportion betwixt these two, manifested in their lives, what hath been wanting in their practice shall be made up in their punishment. But I would not here more digress ; I have one thing more, which accidentally relates to this place, and then I will leave it.

In the year 1614 ten English men having received the sentence of death for their several crimes, at the sessions-house in the Old-Baily, at London, had their execution respited, by the intreaty of the East-India merchants, upon condition that they should be all banished to this place ; to the end (if they could find any peaceable abode there) they might discover something advantageous to their trade ; and this was accordingly done : But two of them, when they came thither, were taken thence, and carried on the voyage ; one, whose surname was Duffield, by Sir Tho. Row, that year sent ambassador to the Great Mogul ; that fellow, thus redeem'd from a most sad banishment, was afterward brought back again into England, by that noble gentleman, and here being intrusted by him, stole some of his plate and ran away ; another was carried on the voyage likewise, but what became of him afterward I know not.

not. So that there remained eight, which were there left, with some ammunition and victuals, with a small boat, to carry them to and from a very little uninhabited island, lying in the very mouth of that bay, a place for their retreat and safety from the natives on the main. The island called Pen-guin island, probably so named at first by some Welshmen, in whose language Pen-guin signifies a white head, and there are very many great lazy fowls upon and about this island, with great coal-black bodies, and very white heads, called Pen-guins. The chief man of the eight there left, was surnamed Cross, who took the name of Capt. Cross; he was formerly a yeoman of the guard unto King James, but having had his hand in blood twice or thrice, by men slain by him in several duels, and now being condemned to die with the rest, upon very great suit made for him he was hither banished with them; whither the justice of almighty God was dispatched after him, as it were in a whirlwind, and followed him close at the very heels, and overtook him, and left him not till he had paid dear for that blood he had formerly spilt. This Cross was a very stout, and a very resolute man, who quarrelling with and abusing the natives, and engaging himself far amongst them, immediately after himself and the rest were left in that place, many of these savages being got together, fell upon him, and with their darts thrown, and
arrows

arrows shot at him, stuck his body so full of them, as if he had been larded with darts and arrows, making him look like the figure of the man in the almanack, that seems to be wounded in every part; or like that man described by Lucan, *totum pro vulnere corpus*, who was all wound, where blood touched blood. The retaliations of the Lord are sure and just; he that is mercy itself abhors cruelty above all other sins; he cannot endure that one man should devour another, as the beasts of the field, birds of the air, fishes of the sea do, and therefore usually shews exemplary, signal revenges for that sin of blood, selling it at a dear rate unto them that shed it. Every sin hath a tongue, but that of blood outcries and drowns the rest; blood being a clamorous and a restless suitor, whose mouth will not be stopt 'till it receive an answer, as it did here. The other seven, the rest of these miserable banditti, who were there with Cross, recovered their boat, and got off the shore, without any great hurt, and so rowing to their island, the waves running high, they split their boat at their landing, which engaged them to keep in that place, they having now no possible means left to stir thence. And, which made their condition while they were in it most extremely miserable, it is a place wherein grows never a tree, either for sustenance or shelter, or shade, nor any thing beside (I ever heard of) to help sustain nature; a place that
hath

hath never a drop of fresh water in it, but what the showers leave in the holes of the rocks. And besides all this, there are a very great number of snakes in that island, (as I have been told by many that have been upon it) so many of those venomous worms, that a man cannot tread safely in the long grass which grows in it, for fear of them. And all these put together, must needs make that place uncomfortable to these wretched men. To this may be added their want of provision, having nothing but dry bisket, and no great quantity of that; so that they lived with hungry bellies, without any place fit for repose, without any quiet rest, for they could not choose but sleep in fear continually; and what outward condition could make men more miserable than this? Yet notwithstanding all they suffered, these seven vile wretches all lived to be made examples afterward of divine justice; for after they had continued in, and endured this sad place for the space of five or six months, and they were grown all even almost mad by reason of their several pressing wants and extremities, it pleased God by providence, to bring an English ship into that road, returning for England. Four of these seven men, being impatient of any more hours stay there, immediately after that ship was come in, made a float with the ruins of their split boat, which they had saved together, and with other wood which they had gotten thither, and with ravel'd

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weld and untwisted boat-ropes, fasten'd as well as they could all together (for there are no such sudden teachers and instructors as extremities are.) These four got upon the float; which they had thus prepared, and poising it as well as they could by their several weight, hoped by the benefit of their oars, and strength of the tide, (that then ran quick toward the ship newly arrived) they might recover it; but this their expectation failed them, for it being late in the day when they made this attempt, and they, not discovered by the ship, which then rode a good way up in the bay, before they could come up near unto her, the tide return'd, and so carried them back into the main sea, where they all perished miserably. The day following the ship sent a boat to the island, which took those three yet surviving into her, as the other four might have been, if they could have exercised their patience for one night longer. These survivors came aboard the ship, and related all that had befallen to their fellows. But these three, notwithstanding all their former miseries, when they were taken into the ship behaved themselves so lowdly, as they returned homeward, that they were very often put into the bilboes, or ship's stocks, in the way returning, and otherwise many times punished for their great and several misdemeanors: At last the ship being safely returned into the Downs, she had not been there at anchor above three hours,

hours, but these three villains got on shore; and they had not been ashore above three hours, but they took a purse, and a very few hours after were apprehended and all taken for that fact; and suddenly after that, their very foul story being related to the Lord Chief Justice, and they looked upon as men altogether incorrigible, and uncapable of amendment by lesser corrections, by his special warrant were executed upon their former condemnation (for which they were banished, not to return hither again, but never pardoned) near Sandwich, in Kent, where they committed the robbery. From whose example we may learn, that it is not in the power of any affliction, how heavy soever it light, and how long soever it lie, if it be not sanctified, to do any man good; that when the rod is upon a man, if he be not taught as well as chastened, all the stripes bestowed upon him are cast away. A man might have hoped that these wretched fellows had been long enough in the fire to have purged away their dross. But afflictions, like fire, harden as well as soften; and experience teaches us, that the winds and waves, though they beat with their greatest violence upon the rocks, yet leave them as they found them, unmoveable; it being a most tried truth recorded by Solomon, Prov. 27, v. 12, That bray or beat a fool in a mortar, he will not leave his foolishness; but as he was put in, so will come out, a fool.

The

The year following we carried there three more condemned persons, to be left in this place ; but they hearing of the ill success of their predecessors, and that it was very unlikely for them to find any safe footing here, when we were ready to depart thence, and to leave them on the shore, they all came and presented themselves on their knees, with tears in their eyes, to our chief commander, Capt. Joseph, most humbly beseeching him, that he would give orders that they might be hanged before he departed, in that place, which they much rather chose, than to be there left. We thought it was a very sad sight to behold three men in such a condition, that made them esteem hanging to be mercy. Our commander told them, that he had no commission to execute them, but to leave them there, and so he must do ; and so believed he had done; but our fifth ship, the Swan, staying in this place after us a day or two, took these poor men into her, and then took her course for Bantam, whither she was bound : And the Rose, our last ship, whose sight and company we lost in that most violent storm before mentioned, at the beginning of our voyage, was safely preserved, and happily afterward found her way to Bantam likewise.

We made our abode in this harbour 'till the 28th following ; on which day we being well watered and refreshed, departed. And the 29th we doubled the Cape of Good Hope, whose latitude is 35 degrees south. Off this

Cape •

Cape there setteth continually a most violent current westward; whence it comes to pass, that when a strong contrary wind meets it (as often-times it doth) their impetuous opposition makes the sea so to rage, as that some ships have been swallowed, but many more very much endangered, amongst these huge mountains of water, and very few ships pass that way without a storm. We kept on in a circular course to gain a south-west wind; for ye must know, that the wind in those parts, and so in East-India, blows (and but with a very little variation) half the year south-west, and the other half north-east. We sailed here southerly, 'till we had raised the south pole almost forty degrees above the horizon. This pole is a constellation of four stars, the mariners call the *crossiers*; these stars appear near one another, like a cross, and almost equidistant; and while we had the view of this pole, the sun (as it must needs be) was north at noon unto us.

The 22d of July we discovered the great island Madagascar, commonly called St. Laurence, we being then betwixt it and the African shore; which island lies almost every part of it under, or within the southern tropick: We touched not at it, but this I dare say from the credit of others who have been upon it, that as it is an exceeding great island, (if not the greatest in the known world) so is it stored with abundance of very excellent good provisions,

provisions, though inhabited by a barbarous and heathenish people, but stout and warlike, and very numerous.

Over against this island, on the main continent of Africa, are Zefala, and Mozambique, whereon the Portuguese have got some footing; the places (as may be strongly supposed) whither Solomon sent his navy of ships, built at Eziongeber, which stood on the banks of the red sea, in Arabia the Happy, the country of that famous Queen of the South, who hearing of the wisdom and renown, took her journey thence to visit the court of King Solomon, *who had understanding like a flood*. From that place before named Solomon sent his ships for gold and silver and ivory, &c. 1. King. 10, 22, they coasting all along the shore of Africa; for in the days of Solomon the art of navigation was not known; and seamen then steering without chart or compass, were necessitated to keep the neighbouring land always in their sights, as without question those ships did, and to those fore-mentioned places, stored (as is related above) other parts of Africa with those richest commodities.

I might have taken notice before, (but yet it will not be unseasonable) of many sudden, strong, and violent gusts of wind, frequently to be observed in those south-west seas, which surprize a ship so suddenly, that if she have many sails abroad, and the mariners be not very watchful and nimble to strike them, their
strength

Strength is such, that they will endanger her overturning; and to these there are many strange watry clouds, they call Spouts, which appear like a funnel, or water tankard, very large and big at one end, but small at the other, which hangs lowest, and of a very great length; they contain a great quantity of water, wrapt together by a whirl-wind, that falls within a very narrow compass; the abundance whereof, by its great weight, if it fall directly (as sometimes it doth) upon the body of a small ship, it will much endanger it, and would do much more harm, but that these spouts, when they are seen, may be easily avoided.

From the island Madagascar, we proceeded on in our course, and the 5th of August following, approached near the little islands of Mohilia, Gazidia, St. John de Castro, with some others, whose names I have not, called in general the islands of Comora, lying about 12 degrees south of the Equator.

The day following, being the 6th of August early in the morning, our men looking out for land, espied a sail which stood directly in our course, but far before us; at first sight she appeared as if there had been some great hill interposed betwixt us; for first, we had sight only of her colours in her high main-top, after this of her masts and sails, and then of her hull; after which manner, ships at sea do every where appear at great distance one to
D another;

another; which proves that that mighty collection of waters, called seas, have a convex, or globous and round body, placed by almighty God, as it were in hills, or heaps, and being above the earth, and higher than it, they have set limits, and commanded they are to their bounds, contrary to their nature, which they may not pass; for so saith the Psalmist, Ps. 104; 9, "Thou hast set a bound which they may not pass over, that they return not again to cover the earth." But this is known to all that have been at sea, therefore we proceed. Upon the first sight of that ship, we were all glad of the object, improving all endeavours we could to overtake her, withal preparing our great ordnance, that if she were a friend, we might salute her, if an enemy be in readiness for her. So eagerly pursuing this unlooked-for ship with the wings of the wind, after we had given her chase about five hours, her colours and bulk discovered her to be a very great Portugal carrack, bound for Goa, lying in the skirts of East-India, and principally inhabited by Portuguese, the city of residence for the Vice-Roy to the King of Spain, her commander called Don Emanuel de Meneses, a brave resolute man, as the sequent will demonstrate. About noon the Globe, our least ship, (by reason of her nimbleness, sailing better than her fellows) came up with her on her broadside to windward, and according to the custom of the sea, hailed her, asking whence she

she was? she answered indirectly of the sea, calling our men rogues, thieves, hereticks, devils; and the conclusion of her rude compliment was, in loud cannon language, discharging seven great pieces of artillery at our Globe, (though she had very little reason so to do, we having four ships in company, and she alone) whereas six pierced her through the hull, maiming some of her men, but killing none. Our Globe replied in the same voice, and after that fell off.

About three of the clock in the afternoon, the Charles, our Admiral, came up with her, so near, that we were within pistol shot; our commander, Captain Joseph, proceeded religiously, in offering them a treaty, before he proceeded to revenge; so we saluted her with our trumpets, she with her wind instruments, then we showed our men on both sides aloft; this done, our commander called to them, requiring theirs to come on board, to give an account for the injury they had lately before offered us; they answered, they had never a boat; our commander replied, that he would send them one, and immediately caused his barge to be manned, and sent off to them, which brought back one of their officers, and two others of inferior rank, with this message from the Captain, how that he had promised the King of Spain, his master, not to leave his ship, and therefore forc'd he might, but never would be commanded out of her; Cap-

tain Joseph received the message, and used those that brought it civilly; and then ordered that they should be shewed (in a broadside of great guns, that lay all ready prim'd to be fir'd against them) how we were prepared to vindicate ourselves, which put the poor Portuguese in a fit of trembling, and upon it desir'd our commander to write a few words to theirs, that happily with their persuasion might make him come; Captain Joseph, willing to preserve his honour, and to prevent blood, consented, and forthwith caused a few lines in Spanish, to this effect, to be wrote unto him:

“That whereas he, the commander of the carrack, had offered violence to our ship that sailed peaceably by him, he will'd him to come presently, and give reason for that wrong, or else at his peril.”

So he discharged those Portuguese, sending one of our master's mates back with them, with these few words, and this further message, “that if he refused to come, he would sink by his side, but that he would force him before he left him;” *morientium verba sunt prophetica*, his words came to pass, for he himself suddenly after, fell by a great shot that came from the carrack's side. The commander of the carrack, notwithstanding the message and menace sent to him, was still peremptory in his first answer: So our men returning, Captain Joseph himself made the three first shot at them, all which (the mark being so fair and near)

near) hit them; this done, the bullets began to fly on both sides, our captain cheering his company, immediately ascended the half-deck, the place where commanders use to keep in those encounters, to shew their own gallantry and to encourage the company under their command; where he had not been the eighth part of an hour e're a great shot from the carrack's quarter deprived him of life in the twinkling of an eye. For this Captain Joseph, he was certainly one who had very much of a man in him for years antient, who had commanded before in sea-fights, which he met withal within the Streights in the Midland Sea, and near death many times in them, which took others round about him, while himself went off untouch'd; and the reason was, because his appointed time for dying was not yet come. Certainly there is never a bullet flies, that carries not a commission with it to hit or miss, to kill or spare; the time, the place, and every circumstance besides of a man's dissolution, is fore-determined. That one dies in the field, another in his bed, one on the sea, another on the shore, one by sickness, another by violence, one in his own, another in a foreign nation, is fore-decreed in Heaven; the time of every man's change being set to a minute, which he must not pass. And though we hear it not vocally, yet almighty God calls every one by his name, and saith to one, die thou there; and to another, die thou yonder:

Whence it was, that the place where our commander then stood, waving his sword, must of necessity be the stage of his present mortality. Before what his purposes were in relation to his enemy with whom he now encountered, I know not; but his thoughts, whatever they were, in the shortest moment of time perished, Death surprizing him now swifter than thought; so that in his own person he could do his enemy now no more hurt; for dead lions bite not. The bullet which carried away his life, hit him on the breast, beating out of his body his heart, and other of his vitals, which lay round about him scattered in his diffused blood. A runner is tried by a race, a pilot by a tempest, a commander, whether at sea or land, by a battle, and, *Ducem oportet in acie mori.*

— *A captain no where dies,
Better, than in the face of enemies.*

Yet, as Sophocles sometimes spake of Philoctetes, that he kill'd others gloriously when he was slain himself: So the blood of this resolute commander was more than sufficiently revenged, as will appear by the consequence, in the fall and ruin of most of his provoking enemies.

After Captain Joseph was slain, the master of our ship continued the fight about half an hour, then (knowing there was another to be admitted into that prime place of command) the

the night approaching, for that time gave over, putting out a flag of council, to call the captain of the vice Admiral, (Capt. Henry Pepwell) who was to succeed, and the other commanders, aboard, to consult about the prosecution of this encounter. The night being come, we now proceeded no further. The carrack stood still on her course, putting forth a light in her poop for us to follow her, and about midnight came to an anchor under the island of Mohilia, which when we perceived, we let fall our anchors too.

The 7th, early before it began to dawn, we prepared for a new assault; first commending ourselves in prayer to almighty God, who doth whatsoever he pleaseth "in Heaven and in Earth, in the Sea, and in all places." Ps. 135, 6; towards the close of which exercise, I spake some words of exhortation and encouragement to all the people of the ship there together assembled; but was presently out-rhetorick'd by our new commander, who spake to the company thus: "My masters, I have never a speech to make unto you; but to speak to the cooper to give every one of you a good cup of sack, and so God bless us." Here was a speech indeed, that was short and sweet; that had something following it to make it most savoury, that it might be tasted as well as heard. Mine was verbal, without any such relish, and therefore I forbear to insert it.

The morning come, we found the carrack so close to the shore, and the nearest of our
ships

ships at least a league off, that we held our hands for that day, expecting when she would weigh her anchors and stand off to sea, a fitter place to deal with her. And that afternoon we chested our late slain commander, putting some great shot with him into it, that he might presently sink, and without any ceremony of guns, &c. usual upon such occasions, because our enemy should take no notice, put him overboard against the island of Mohilia, where he made his own grave, as all dead bodies do, buried not in dust but water, which shall one day as well as the earth "give up its dead," Rev. 20, 13, when all the bodies of men since the world began, that have tasted death in their several generations; however after death they have been bestowed, wheresoever laid up, shall be raised again; and though all would not, yet all must.

A little before night that present day, the carrack departed again to sea; we all loosed our anchors, opened our sails, and followed. The day now left us, and our proud adversary, unwilling as it should seem to escape, put forth a light (as before) for us to follow him, as afterward we did to purpose. The night well-nigh spent, we commended again ourselves and cause to God; when I observed more seeming devotion in our seamen that morning, than at any time before, or after, while I kept them company; who, for the generality, are such a kind of people, that nothing will bow them,

to

to bring them on their knees, but extreme hazards. When this exercise was ended, the day began to appear in a red mantle, which proved bloody unto many that beheld it. And now we entered upon a second encounter, our four ships resolving to take their turns one after the other, that we might compel this proud Portuguese either to bend or break.

But before I shall give an account of our further engagement, I will take notice of two accidents which to me seemed very observable, and exemplary; the first this: There was one in our ship, whose surname was Raven (a servant to our late slain commander) who immediately before we began to engage, came to me and told me that he had a great desire to follow his master; with what mind he spake this I know not, but if heartily and with desire, his speech was very ill; for if it be an extreme madness for a man to intreat God to take away the life of his beast, much more to request him to take away his own life. But whatsoever his petition was in respect of his inward desire, it pleased almighty God presently to answer him herein, by the first great shot that came from the enemy, which struck off his head. A man may hope to speed well, that knows how to petition well; but by the righteous judgment of God it oftentimes falls out, that such unadvised requests meet with a return of most sad and unwelcome answers,

There

There was another, a taylor, (but not in our ship) who while the company he sailed with were engaged, brought his pressing iron to one of the gunners, and desired him to put it into a piece of ordnance already laden, telling him that he would send it as a token to the Portuguese, withal swearing that he would never work again at his trade; it pleased God immediately after to sentence him out of his own mouth, and to let his tongue to fall upon himself; for that great piece was no sooner discharged, but a great bullet was returned from the enemy, which struck him dead.

And now reader thou may'st suppose us speaking again to our adversary, and he to us, in the harshest and loudest of all dialects, no arguments being so strong as those that proceed from the mouths of guns and points of swords. Our Charles, the Admiral, played her part first; and e're she had been at defiance with her enemy half an hour, there came another great shot from him, which hitting against one of our iron pieces mounted on our half-deck, brake it into many little parts, which most dangerously wounded our new commander and the master of our ship, with three others besides, who received several hurts by it. Captain Pepwell's left eye, by a glance of a piece of that broken bullet, was so torn, that it lay like rags upon his cheek; another hurt by a piece of the same bullet he received on his jaw-bone; and by another on his head; and

and a fourth hurt he received in his leg, a ragged piece of that broken shot sticking fast betwixt the two bones thereof, grating there upon an artery, which seemed by his complaining to afflict him so much, that it made him take very little notice of all the rest of his hurts, it being most true of bodily pains, that the extremity of a greater pain will not suffer a man much to feel and complain of that which is less; as that tormenting pain by the tooth-ach makes a man insensible of the aching of his head; and when the gout and stone surprize the body at once together, the torture by the gout is as it were lost in the extremity of the stone.

And thus was our new commander welcomed to his authority; we all thought that his wounds would very suddenly have made an end of him, but he lived 'till about fourteen months after, and then died as he was returning for England. I told you before that this man suffered not alone by the scattered pieces of that broken shot, for the master of the ship had a great piece of the brawn of his arm struck off by it, which made him likewise unserviceable for a time, and three others of the common sailors received several and dangerous hurts by it likewise.

The Captain and Master both thus disabled, deputed their authority to the chief master's mate, who behaved himself resolutely and wisely; so we continued *alternis vicibus*, one after

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after the other, shooting at our adversary, as at a butt, and by three of the clock in the afternoon had shot down her main-mast by the board, her mizen-masts, her fore-top-mast, and moreover had made such breaches in her thick sides, that her case seemed so desperate, as that she must either yield or perish. Her Captain thus distressed, stood in for the shore, being not far from the island of Gazidia; we pursued as far as we durst, without danger of ship-wreck, then we sent off a boat with a flag of truce to speak to him, he waved us with another; upon which Mr. Connick, our chief Merchant employed in that service, came up to them, and being invited, entered their ship, where he was civilly used, and there he delivered this message to the chief commander and his company, that he had brought them life and peace, if they would accept it, withal telling them, that they had deserved so well by their undaunted valour, that if they would put themselves into our hands they should be entertained with all honour and respect; how the ordinary sort of the carrack were taken with this proffer, I know not, yet all this would not work upon that high resolv'd commander, who like Fabricius in Tully, could not be turn'd in the least measure from his former and firm resolution: But

*Duris ut Ilex tonsa bipennibus
Nigræ feraci frondis in Algido,*

Per

*Per damna, per cades, ab ipso
Ducit opes animumque ferro. Hor.*

*As the leapt holm-tree, that is made
By two edg'd bills to part with shade,
Growing in Algid's fertile grounds,
New life receives, and strength from wounds.*

So he contemning the misery he could not prevent; or like a prun'd hedge, which grows stronger by cutting, answering our messenger thus, that no infelicity should make him alter his first resolution, and therefore must not be talk'd out of the ship; that he would stand off to sea, if possibly he could, and fight us again; and then if fire or sword forc'd him, he might unhappily be taken, but he would never yield; and if we took him alive, he hoped to find the respect of a gentleman; and 'till then we had our answer. So our messenger was discharged, and shortly after this distressed ship wanting her wings, was forced by the wind and waves upon the adjacent island of Gazidia, where she stuck fast between two rocks; those that were left alive in her, by their boats got upon the shore, which when they had all recovered, willing (as it should seem) to destroy what they could not keep, they set her on fire, to make her a coal, rather than we should make her a prize. She was a ship of an exceeding great value in coin and bullion, besides many other rich commodities (if report afterwards abused us not); but we got

got nothing from her but blows, for which she was repaid by us with ruin. The poor distressed Portuguese, after they had left their ship, were most inhumanly used by the barbarous islanders, who spoiled them of all they brought on shore for their succour, some of them finding death in the place they chose to escape it; and doubtless they had made havoc of them all, had they not presently been relieved by two Arabian Junks (for so their small ill built ships are called) there in trade; which, in hope I suppose of some great reward, took them in, and conveyed them safely to their own city, Goa.

In this sea fight we lost, out of our four ships, but five men; three out of our Admiral, and two out of our James; besides we had about twenty in our whole fleet hurt; but of seven hundred which sailed in the carrack, (for she was a ship of an exceeding great bulk and burthen, our Charles, though a ship of a thousand tons, looking but like a pinnace when she was beside her) there came not near half her company to Goa, as afterward we were informed.

Our Charles, in this opposition, made at her adversary, for her part, three hundred and seventy-five great shot (as our gunners reported); to these we had one hundred musketeers, that plied them with small shot all that while; neither was our enemy idle, for our ship received from him at least one hundred

dred great shot, and many of them dangerous ones through the hull. Our fore-mast was pierced through the middle, our main-mast hurt, our main-stay almost spoiled, and many of our main-throuds cut asunder.

Thus, reader, thou hast the sum of that sea-encounter, which I did the rather insert, because I believe that of all warlike oppositions there are none that carry more horror in them than sea fights do, if the parties engaged be both very resolute, as very many who use the sea are, who will desperately run upon the mouth of a cannon, rush into the very jaws of death, before they have at all learned what it was to live; that being most true, which was antiently observed in the generality both of soldiers and seamen, *Armatis Divum nullus timor*, that they fear neither God nor Man. And therefore when I seriously consider of the terrors which usually accompany this kind of fighting, I do more pity and less wonder at the behaviour of a poor Scotch merchant in such an encounter, who observing the bullets to make quick returns, gets into his cabin, and there covered himself as close as he could; but being pursued thither by his own fears, which he could not keep thence, they made his lower passages both to open, and then feeling himself in those parts more warm and moist than usually he was, cried out, *Ice stene, Ice stene, Ice all goar blud*; yet when he was feared, his hurts proved not mortal. But in good

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good earnest, there is no opposition in the world so full of dread as this; and no contentions 'twixt men and men carry them so far out of themselves, and make them turn so savage, as these.

When men act wolves parts, where their highest skill

*Expressed is by knowledge how to kill;
One bullet throws a leg into the main,
An arm that follows it, as if again
(Like a swift post) in winged haste it meant
To fetch it back to th' parts from which 'twas rent.
In a torn carcase one here lodges, crying,
And at his feet there others gasp a dying:
Here goes a head, and there a heart is made
Its lodging to forsake, and fly to's shade.
Of all encounters, there are none so fell
As fights at sea, where nought but horrors dwell.
'Mongst all the arts of killing, none more dire
Than these by bullets, wracks, noise, sword, and
fire.*

I want words to express the extreme horror that is to be observed in these sea fights, where fire like lightning darts into mens eyes, and the over-loud cracks of great ordnance like thunder roars in their ears, besides the noise made by muskets, drums, and fifes, with men hurrying up and down the ship, in a confused tumult, wrapt about in a thick cloud of suffocating smoak made by the powder. Here a bullet comes, and leaves death behind it, and there

there splinters kill and maim others; so that a man in this case is many times as if he were placed in the midst of a beam holding two ballances, where the one scale hangs over the fire, and over the water the other: For it often falls out in these encounters, that by sinking or firing a ship, a man is put to this most miserable choice, either to burn, or drown; and in these extremities there is no escaping by flight, as in field-battles: And therefore, though it be easy and safe to sail in the harbour, or to sit upon the shore, and there to make these most sad conflicts matter of talk, discourse, or merriment, as some do, yet I conceive they should not be seen or heard of without grief and detestation; because the very name of a man implies humanity, which a man forgets to shew, when he sees or hears of the ruin and destruction of others with content, who are men like himself. It is well observed, that almighty God in scripture, shewing mercy, is oftentimes called by the name of a Man; as Gen. 32, 24 and 29, "A Man wrestled with Jacob, and blessed him"; so in many other places: But when God threatens displeasure and vengeance against a man, he saith, "I will not meet thee as a Man," Isa. 47, 3; that is, he will shew no pity, no compassion: Which implies thus much, that they who at any time are wanting in this, deserve not the names of men, they being without natural affections; appearing to be such, as if
E they

they had been hewn from the rocks, and not fallen from loins of flesh and blood; as if they had sucked the dragons in the wilderness, rather than daughters of men. But to conclude what I have to say of this; if it be very terrible (as indeed it is) to be in the midst of such encounters as these, though a man come off untouched, it is much more to smart under the sad consequences thereof; it being by much more hard to feel, than it is easy to talk of them.

And now, reader, if thou shalt be pleased to accompany me further, I will carry thee from this sad discourse, where we may be both refreshed upon a near rich and pleasant island; and to make way for our entertainment there, take further notice, that after we saw the carrack in a flame, (which was about midnight) we stood off and on 'till morning, to see if any thing might be found in her ashes; of which when we despaired, we sought about to succour and comfort our wounded and sick men on the shore. The land there was very high, against which the sea is always deep; so that it was the 10th day of that month e're we could be possessed of a good harbour; which enjoyed, we found the island, called Mohilia, very pleasant, full of trees, and exceeding fruitful, abounding in beeves, kids, poultries of divers kinds, rice, sugar-canes, plantans, (of which fruit more shall be spoken hereafter) oranges, cocoa-nuts, as with many other
wholsome

Wholsome things; of all which we had sufficient to relieve our whole company, for little quantities of white paper, glass beads, low-pric'd looking-glasses, and cheap knives; for instance, we bought as many good oranges as would fill a hat for a quarter of a sheet of white writing-paper, and so in proportion all other provisions.

Here we had the best oranges that ever I tasted, which were little round ones, exceeding sweet and juicy, having but a little spongy skin within them, and the rind on them almost as thin as the paring of an apple: We ate all together, rind and juice, and found them a fruit that was extraordinary well pleasing to the taste.

Much of their fruits the islanders brought unto us in their little canoes, (which are long narrow boats, cut like troughs out of firm trees) but their cattle we bought on the shore; where I observed the people to be strait, well limb'd, stout able men, their colour very tawny; most of the men, but all the women, I saw uncloathed, having nothing about them but a covering for their shame: Such as were cloathed, had long garments like unto the Arabians, whose language they speak, and of whose religion they are, Mahometans, very strict (as it should seem) for they would not endure us to come near their churches. They have good convenient houses for their living, and fair sepulchres for their dead.

They seemed to live strictly under the obedience of a King, whose place of residence was some miles up in the country; his leave by messengers they first craved, before they would sell to us any of their best provisions. Their King hearing of our arrival, bad us welcome by a present of beeves, goats, and poultry, and the chief and choice fruits of his country; and was highly recompenced, as he thought, again, by a quire or two of white paper, a pair of low-pric'd looking-glasses, some strings of glass beads, some cheap knives, with some other English toys.

We saw some Spanish money amongst them, of which they seemed to make so little reckoning, that some of our men had from them many royals of eight in exchange for a little of those very low and very cheap commodities which before I named.

The cocoa-nut-tree (of which this island hath abundance) of all other trees may challenge the pre-eminence; for merely with these trees, without the least help of any other timber, or any other thing, (unless a little iron work) a man may build and furnish, and fit and victual a small ship to sea. For the heart of this tree (being very tough, firm, and fast wood) growing up strait and high, will make timber, planks, pins, masts, and yards; a strong gum that issues out of it, with the rind that grows about it, will serve to caulk the ship; and that spungy rind, which looks
like

like our hemp when it is a little bruised, will make cordage and sails; and the very large nuts that grow upon it, (of which are many excellent drinking cups) when it is newly gathered, hath a milk-white substance that is tender, (tasting like an almond) round about of a good substance within it; and within that, a very pleasant liquor, that is wholesome as well as savoury, which may for need serve those that sail in this ship for meat and drink.

Now, well-stored with these nuts and other good provisions, after five days abode there, the breaches our ship had lately received in fight being repaired, and our men well refreshed, we put again to sea the 16th day, and a prosperous gale following us, were carried happily a second time under the *Æquinoctial*, without the least heat to offend us, the 24th day of the same month. Our course was for the island of *Zocotora*, near the mouth of the Red Sea, from whence come our aloes *Zocotrina*; but an adverse gale from the Arabian shore kept us so off, that we could by no means recover it. We passed by it the 1st of September.

Missing that port, we proceeded on our voyage, and the 4th of September made a solemn funeral in memory of our late slain commander, when after sermon the small shot and great ordnance made a large peal to his remembrance.

On the 6th of September, at night, to our admiration and fear, the water of the sea

seemed to us as white as milk; which did not appear only so in the body of the sea, but it looked so likewise in buckets of water which we did then draw out of the sea. Others of our nation passing on that course have observed the like; but I am yet to learn what should be the true reason thereof, it being there very far from any shore, and the sea so deep that we could search no ground.

The 21st we discovered the main continent of Asia the Great, in which East-India takes up a large part. The 22d we had sight of Deu and Damon, places that lie in the skirts of India, principally inhabited and well fortified by Portuguese: And the 25th of September we came happily to an anchor in Swally Road, within the Bay of Cambaya, the harbour for our fleet while they make their stay in these remote parts.

Then after a long, troublesome, and dangerous passage, we came at last to our desired port. And immediately after my arrival there, I was sent for by Sir Thomas Row, Lord Ambassador, then residing at the Mogul's court, (which was many miles up in the country) — to supply the room of Mr. John Hall, his chaplain; (Fellow of Corpus Christi college in Oxford) whom he had not long before buried; and I lived with that most noble gentleman at that court more than two years; after which I returned home to England with him. During which space of my abode there I had very good advantage to take notice of very many places,

places, persons, and things; travelling with the Ambassador much in progress with that King up and down his very large territories.

And now, reader, I would have thee to suppose me setting my foot upon the East-Indian shore, at Swally before named. On the banks whereof, amongst many more English that lie there intred, is laid up the body of Mr. Thomas Coryat, a man in his time *Notus nimis omnibus*, very sufficiently known. He lived there, and there died while I was in these parts, and was for some months then with my Lord Ambassador, during which time he was either my chamber-fellow or tent-mate, which gave me a full acquaintance of him. That Greek-travelling-Thomas (they which know his story, know why I call him so) formerly wrote a book, entitled, *Coryat's Crudities*, printed in the beginning of the year 1611, and then ushered into the world by very many copies of excellent verses made by the wits of those times, which did very much advantage and improve, if not enforce the sale thereof (doing themselves much more honour than him whom they undertook to commend in their several encomiasticks) and if he had lived, he would have written his last travels to, and in, and out of East-India; for he resolved (if God had spared him life) to have rambled up and down the world, as sometime Ulysses did, and though not so long as he, yet ten full years at least before his re-

turn home, in which time he purposed to see Tartaria in the vast parts thereof, with as much as he could of China, and those other large places and provinces interposed betwixt East-India and China, whose true names we might have had from him, but yet have not. He had a purpose after this to have visited the Court of Prester John in Æthiopia, who is there called by his own people, *Ho Biot*, the King, and after this it was in his thoughts to have cast his eyes upon many other places ; which if he had done, and lived to write those relations, seeing as he did, or should, such variety of Countries, Cities, Nations, Things, and been as particular in them, as he was in his Venetian Journal, they must needs have swoln into so many huge volumes, as would have prevented the perishing of paper. But undoubtedly if he had been continued in life to have written them, there might have been made very good use of his observations ; for as he was a very particular, so was he a very faithful relator of things he saw ; he ever disclaiming that bold liberty which divers travellers have, and do take, by speaking and writing any thing they please of remote parts, when they cannot easily be contradicted, taking a pride in their feigned relations, to overspeak things ; being resolved in this case

*Not only things to do, but o'er do ;
Speaking, writing all, and more too.*

I therefore for my part, believing this relator to be none of those, have taken some things from his trust and credit in this my following discourse; and because he could not live to give an account unto the world of his own travels, I shall here by the way make some little discovery of his footsteps and sittings up and down, to and fro, with something besides of him in his long peregrinations, to satisfy very many yet living, who if they shall please to read this discourse, may recall that man once more into their remembrance, who while he lived was like a perpetual motion, and therefore now dead should not be quite forgotten.

In the year 1612 he shipt himself from London for Constantinople, now called by the Turks *Stombole*, where he took special notice of all things there most observable. In which place he found very great respect and encouragement from Sir Paul Pinder, then and there Embassador, to whose house he had free and welcome access whensoever he pleased. Being there for some time, he took his opportunities to view divers parts in Grecia; and in the Hellespont took special notice of those two castles directly opposed to each other, called Sestos and Abydos, which stand on the several banks that bound that very narrow sea; which places Musæus makes famous in his very antient poem of Hero and Leander.

He desired much to see where those seven churches, sometimes famous in Asia the Less, stood;

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stood; but since their sin so darkened their light, and God removed their Candlesticks from them, (as before he threatened) those places lie so in the dark, that it cannot be well discovered where they once were: Only Smyrna is famous at this present day for trade, but not religion; and Ephesus, and some others of them, keep their names still, though they left and lost their faith and profession of truth with the rest.

He saw what yet remains of the ruins of sometimes great Troy, but

Jam seges est ubi Troia fuit——

That place which was once so populous, as if it had been sow'n with people,

*And seeded thus, bad after born
Millions of men, now's sow'n with corn.*

And, O *jam periere ruina*, the very ruins of that place are almost all gone to ruin: The most observable thing there yet remaining, is part of an exceeding great house, which is continued by tradition to have been sometimes a part of the famous palace of great King Priamus.

From Smyrna he found a passage to Alexandria in Egypt, Egypt that is called by some, in regard of the plenty it produceth, the grainary or store-house of the world; and in Egypt, near Grand-Cairo, (antiently called Memphis)

Memphis) he observed what remains of the once fam'd pyramids. Returning thence back to Alexandria, with one Englishman more, they found a passage by sea to Jatta, antiently called Joppa, and there they met some others going to Jerusalem, which is about twenty English miles distant from Joppa, whence they departed together towards Jerusalem, and found it a very solitary, rocky, uncomfortable way, full of danger, by reason of the wild Arabs who keep about those passages, to make poor travellers their prey and spoil. But they came safe to Jerusalem, now inhabited by Turks, and that place called by them Cutts; where he told me, that himself and his companion were courteously received by the father guardian of the convent of the Franciscan friars, that keep their residence in Jerusalem; and by some of them were met at the gate of the city, where they were compelled by the Turkish soldiers who keep those gates (as all others that bear the name of Christians are, at their first coming thither) to redeem their heads, by paying each of them the value of five shillings, before they could have admittance into that place; which they had no sooner entered, but they were presently carried by those Franciscans which met them to their convent; and then the first thing they did to or for them, they washed their feet, then set some comfortable refection before them, and after went in procession about a little cloister

cloister they had, praising God that he had brought in safety those two votaries. (as they called them) to visit that holy place. A day or two after they accompanied them to Bethlehem, the place of our blessed Saviour's birth, about five English miles distant from Jerusalem; and in the way betwixt those two places shewed them a rock, on which (as they said) the blessed Virgin sat down, as she went on a time betwixt Jerusalem and Bethlehem, to give her babe suck, and that the rock might not feel hard under her, it yielded (as they told them) to her body like a cushion, and that impression made by her so sitting remaineth unto this day, and is most devoutly kissed by votaries as they pass up and down. After this they returning back shewed them all that was to be seen in and about Jerusalem. Many particulars they told them (stories that are there kept by tradition) concerning our blessed Saviour and his mother. Then they had a sight of as much of Mount Calvary (where our blessed Saviour suffered) as could be shewed them, that hill being now enclosed within the walls of Jerusalem. They undertook to shew them afterwards the place wherein our blessed Saviour was buried; and after that, upon Mount Olivet, the very place whence he after ascended; where upon a rock there was an impression of the former part of two feet, such as is seen in soft earth, when a man lifts up his body to leap thence; and these
Fran-

Franciscans confidently affirmed, and seemed undoubtedly to believe, that it was so as they shewed and told them. Many other things they affirmed, which being but circumstances, (though appertaining to the best of all stories) were enough for these Pilgrims to believe, and enough to make doubt of.

At Jerusalem this our traveller had made upon the wrists of his left arm the arms of Jerusalem, a cross crossed, or crosslets; and on the wrist of his right a single cross made like that our blessed Saviour suffered on; and on the side of the stem or tree of that cross these words written, *Via, Veritas, Vita*; some of the letters being put on the one side of that stem or tree, and some of them on the other; and at the foot of that cross three nails, to signify those which fasten'd our Saviour unto it: All these impressions were made by sharp needles bound together, that pierced only the skin, and then a black powder put into the places so pierced, which became presently indelible characters, to continue with him so long as his flesh should be covered with skin; and they were done upon his arms so artificially as if they had been drawn by some accurate Pencil upon parchment. This poor man would pride himself very much in the beholding of those characters; and seeing them would often speak these words of St. Paul, written to the Galatians, Gal. 6, 17, (though far besides the apostle's meaning) "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus."

Now

Nowafter that himself and comrade had seen what they desired in and about Jerusalem, they took their leave of those Franciscans, leaving with them money to recompence the courtesy they had received from them; the Friars being very poor, and consequently unable to entertain them freely without requitals.

From hence they took their way to take a view of the Dead Sea, (so called, either because the water therein is still, and moves not, or because no living creature is in it, and nothing thrives on the banks thereof) the place where Sodom and Gomorrah, and Admah and Zeboim once stood, those cities "which almighty God overthrew in anger, and repented not," Jer. 20, 16. Hence they went to have a sight of the river Jordan, which dischargeth itself into that most uncomfortable lake; and from hence they journied north-east through those ten tribes, (which for the sin of Solomon were rent from his son Rehoboam) 'till they came to Mount Libanus. Thence back to Sidon, which retaineth that name still. And here he told me as his last observation made in that land of Canaan, sometimes (like the garden of the Lord) flowing with milk and honey; being then enriched with a very great variety, and abundance of God's good creatures; and in the days of David so populous, that there were numbered in it at one time "thirteen hundred thousand fighting men," 2 Sam. 24, 9, besides women and children, and

and others unfit to draw swords; which was a most wonderful thing to consider, that such a spot of ground in comparison, not above one hundred and sixty miles in length, from Dan to Beersheba, and not above sixty miles in breadth, from Joppa to Jordan, should be able to bear and feed such a numerous people; and now the very self-same track of earth, either for want of manuring, or (which is rather to be conceived) for the want of the blessing of almighty God, which once shined upon it, but now long since withdrawn from it, (*"for a fruitful land the Lord maketh barren, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein"* P^{sa}. 107, 34) is now become unable to sustain one in a hundred of such a number.

From Sidon they got a passage by sea unto Alexandretta, now called Scanderoon, (in the extremest bottom of the Mediterranean sea) which is one of the unwholesomest places in the world; where I have often heard that no stranger (that was born far from it) comes to continue there for the space of one month, but is sure to meet with a sickness, which very often proves mortal. At this place his English companion left him, and turned his face towards England; and he presently took his way towards Aleppo, in Syria, about seventy miles or more distant from Scanderoon, which is as much renowned for wholesomeness, as the place before named for being unwholesome; and therefore it is called sweet-air'd Aleppo.

Here

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Here he being kindly received by the English consul, staid a time to gain the company of a caravan, which consists of a great mixt multitude of people from divers parts, which get and keep together travelling those parts, for fear of the incursions and violences by thieves and murderers, which they would undoubtedly meet withal, if they travelled singly, or but few together. With these he set forwards towards and to that city antiently called Nineveh, in Assyria, which we find in the prophesy of Jonah was sometimes "a great and excellent city of three days journey," Jonah 3, 3; but now so exceedingly lessen'd and lodg'd in obscurity, that passengers cannot say of it, this was Nineveh, which now hath its old name changed, and is called Mozel. From hence they journied to Babylon, in Chaldæa, situated upon the river Euphrates, once likewise so great, that Aristotle called it a country, not a city, but now it is very much contracted, and 'tis called Bagdat. From this place they proceeded through both the Armenia's, and either did, or else our traveller was made to believe, that he saw the very mountain Ararat, whereon the "ark of Noah rested after the flood," Gen. 8. And from hence they went forward towards the kingdom of Persia, and there to Uzspahan, the usual place of residence for that great King, then called Sha Abbas, or King Abbas. And after they went to Seras, antiently called Shushan, where the great King
Ahasuerus

Ahasuerus kept his royal and most magnificent court, Est. 1. From hence they journied afterwards to Candahor, the first province north-east under the subjection of the Great Mogul, and so to Lahore, the chiefest city but one belonging to that great empire; a place, as I have been told by Tom. Coryate and others, of very great trade, wealth, and delight, lying more temperately out of the parching sun than any other of his great cities do; and to this city he wanted not company, nor afterwards to Agra, the Mogul's metropolis or chief city.

And here it is very observable, that from Lahore to Agra it is four hundred English miles, and that the country betwixt both these great cities is rich, even, pleasant and flat, a Campania, and the road way on both sides all this long distance planted with great trees, which are all the year cloathed with leaves, exceeding beneficial unto travellers for the shade they afford them in those hot climes. This very much extended length of way 'twixt these two places, is called by travellers the Long Walk, very full of villages and towns for passengers every where to find provision.

At Agra our traveller made an halt, being there lovingly received in the English factory, where he staid till he had gotten to his Turkish, and Morisco or Arabian languages, some good knowledge in the Persian and Indostan
F tongues;

tongues; in which study he was always very apt, and in little time shewed much proficiency. The first of those two, the Persian, is the more quaint; the other, the Indostan, the vulgar language spoken in East-India: In both these he suddenly got such a knowledge and mastery, that it did exceedingly afterwards advantage him in his travels up and down the Mogul's territories, he wearing always the habit of that nation, and speaking their language.

In the first of these, the Persian tongue, he made afterwards an oration to the Great Mogul, bringing in that story of the Queen of Sheba, 1 King. 10, (in which parts of that sacred history the Mahometans have some knowledge) and he told him, that as the Queen of Sheba, having heard of the fame of King Solomon, came from far to visit him; which when she had done, she confessed that though she had heard very much of him, and many things beyond her belief, yet now seeing what she did, acknowledged that she had not heard half of that which she now saw concerning the wisdom, greatness, retinue, and riches of Solomon: So our orator told the Mogul, that he had heard very much of him before he had the honour to see him, (when he was very far off in his own country) but now what he beheld did exceedingly surmount all those former reports of him which came to his ears at such a distance from him: Then
larding

finishing his short speech with some other pieces of flattery, which the Mogul liked well, concluded: And when he had done, the Mogul gave him one hundred roopees, which amounts to the value of twelve pounds and ten shillings of our English money; looking upon him as a Dervise, or votary, or pilgrim, (for so he called him) and such as bear that name in that country seem not much to care for money; and that was the reason (I conceive) that he gave him not a more plentiful reward.

After this, he having got a great mastery likewise in the Indostan, or vulgar language, there was a woman, a laundress, belonging to my Lord Ambassador's house, who had such a freedom and liberty of speech, that she would sometimes scold, brawl, and rail, from the sun-rising to sun-set; one day he undertook her in her own language, and by eight of the clock in the morning so silenced her, that she had not one word more to speak.

I shall have occasion to say more of this man in some passages of this following discourse, and therefore shall not wrap all I have to speak of him in this, although it be a very long digression: Yet because I must now shortly bring you to his journies end, I shall take the freedom to enlarge myself a little further concerning him here in this place, before I leave him for the present; and to give thee, reader, a piece of his character, it speaks thus:

That he was a man of a very coveting eye, that could never be satisfied with seeing, as

Solomon speaks, Ecclef. 1. 8. though he had seen very much; and I am persuaded that he took as much content in seeing, as many others in the enjoying of great and rare things. He was a man that had got the mastery of many hard languages (as before I observed) to the Latin and Greek he brought forth of England with him; in which if he had obtained wisdom to husband and manage them, as he had skill to speak them, he had deserved more fame in his generation. But his knowledge and high attainments in several languages made him not a little ignorant of himself, he being so covetous, so ambitious of praise, that he would hear and endure more of it than he could in any measure deserve; being like a ship that hath too much sail, and too little ballast: Yet if he had not fall'n into the smart hands of the wits of those times, he might have passed better. That itch of fame which engaged this man to the undertakings of those very hard, and long, and dangerous travels, hath put thousands more (and therefore he was not alone in this) into strange attempts only to be talked of.

One long ago built a Temple to Diana, in hope of Glory, intending it for one of the great wonders of the world; another after, in hope of Fame, burnt it. Whither will not the thirst of fame carry men! It hath made some seek to climb up to Heaven; though by a wrong way: Thus the builders

of

of Babel say one to another, *Let us build us a city, and a tower, whose top may reach up to Heaven, and let us make us a Name*, Gen. 11. 4. And it hath made others, who are penurious of their honour, and prodigal of their souls; not fear to run down headlong into Hell. 'Twas fame, without doubt, that stirred up this man unto these voluntary, but hard undertakings, and the hope of that glory which he should reap after he had finished his long travels, made him not at all to take notice of the hardship he found in them. That hope of name and repute for the time to come did even feed and feast him for the time present, And therefore, any thing that did in any measure eclipse him in those high conceivings of his own worth, did too much trouble him, which you may collect from these following instances.

Upon a time one Mr. Richard Steel, a merchant, and servant to the East-India company, came unto us from Surat to Mandoa, the place then of the Mogul's residence; at which time Mr. *Coryate* was there with us: This merchant had not long before travelled over land from East-India through Persia, and so to Constantinople, and so for England; who in his travel homeward had met with *Tom. Coryate*, as he was journeying towards East-India; Mr. Steel then told him, that when he was in England, King James (then living) enquired after him, and when he had certified

the King of his meeting him on the way, the King replied, *Is that fool yet living?* which, when our Pilgrim heard, it seemed to trouble him very much, because the King spake no more nor no better of him; saying, that Kings would speak of poor men what they pleased.

At another time, when he was ready to depart from us, my Lord Ambassador gave him a letter, and in that a bill to receive ten pounds at Aleppo, when he should return thither: The letter was directed unto Mr. Libbeus Chapman, there Consul at that time; in which that which concerned our traveller was thus: "Mr. Chapman, when you shall hand these letters, I desire you to receive the bearer of them, Mr. Thomas Coryate, with courtesy, for you shall find him a very honest poor wretch; and further I must intreat you to furnish him with ten pounds, which shall be repaid, &c." Our Pilgrim lik'd the gift well, but the language by which he should have receiv'd it, did not at all content him; telling me, that my Lord had even spoiled his courtesy in the carriage thereof; so that if he had been a very fool indeed, he could have said very little less of him than he did, *honest poor wretch!* and to say no more of him was to say as much as nothing. And furthermore he then told me, that when he was formerly undertaking his journey to Venice, a person of honour wrote thus in his behalf unto Sir Henry Wotton, then and there Ambassador: "My

“ My Lord, good wine needs no bush, neither a worthy man letters commendatory; because whithersoever he comes he is his own epistle; &c.” “ There (said he) was some language on my behalf; but now for my Lord to write nothing of me by way of commendation, but *benefit poor wretch*, is rather to trouble me than to please me with his favour.” And therefore afterwards his letter was phras’d up to his mind, but he never liv’d to receive the money. By which his old acquaintance may see how tender this poor man was to be touch’d in any thing that might in the least measure discourage him. O what pains this poor man took to make himself a subject for present and after discourse! being troubled at nothing for the present, unless with the fear of not living to reap that fruit he was so ambitious of in all his undertakings. And certainly he was surprized with some such thoughts and fears (for so he told us afterwards) when upon a time he being at Mandoa with us, and there standing in a room against a stone pillar, where the Ambassador was, and myself present with them, upon a sudden he fell into such a swoon, that we had very much ado to recover him out of it; but at last, when come to himself, he told us that some sad thoughts had immediately before presented themselves to his fancy, which as he conceived put him into that distemper; like Fannius in Martial—*ne moriaretur*, to prevent death by dying, for he told us

that there were great expectations in England of the large accounts he should give of his travels after his return home; and that he was now shortly to leave us, and he being at present not very well, if he should die in the way toward Surat, whither he was now intended to go, (which place he had not as yet seen) he might be buried in obscurity, and none of his friends ever know what became of him, he travelling now, as he usually did, alone. Upon which my Lord willed him to stay longer with us, but he thankfully refused that offer, and turned his face presently after towards Surat, which was then about three hundred miles distant from us, and he lived to come safely thither; but there being overlandly used by some of the English who gave him Sack, which they had brought from England, he calling for it as soon as he heard of it, and crying, "*Sack, Sack*, is there any such thing as *Sack*? I pray you give me some *Sack*;" and drinking of it, though I conceive moderately, (for he was a very temperate man) it increased his Flux which he had then upon him: and this caused him within a few days after his very tedious and troublesome travels, (for he went most on foot) at this place to come to his journey's end; for here he overtook Death in the month of December, 1617, and was buried (as aforesaid) under a little monument, like one of those are usually made in our Church-yards: On which he should have

have been remembered by this or the like Epitaph, if it could have been there engraven upon his Tomb.

*Here lies the Wanderer of his age,
Who living did rejoice,
Not out of need, but choice,
To make his life a Pilgrimage.*

*He spent full many precious days,
As if he had his being
To waste his life in seeing;
More thought to spend, to gain him Praise.*

*Some weaknesses appear'd his stains:
Though some seem very wise,
Some yet are otherwise.
Good gold may be allow'd its grains.*

*Many the places which he ey'd,
And though he should have been
In all parts yet unseen,
His eye had not been satisfy'd.*

*To fill it when he found no room,
By the choice things he saw
In Europe and vast Asia,
Fell blinded in this narrow Tomb.*

Sic exit Coryat: Hence he went off the Stage, and so must all after him, how long so ever their parts seem to be: For if one should go to the extremest part of the world East, another West, another North, and another

another South, they must all meet at last together in the Field of Bones, wherein our Traveller hath now taken up his lodging, and where I leave him. And shall now proceed to give an account of what I have undertaken and do principally intend in the description of the large territories under the subjection of the Great Mogul. Which following discourse (that I may put it into, and after continue it in some due order) I shall digest into several parts, or sections: As,

SECTION I.

Of the several Provinces, the chief Cities, the principal Rivers, the Extent of this vast Empire in its Length and Breadth.

THE most spacious monarchy under the subjection of the Great Mogul, divides itself into thirty-seven several and large provinces, which antiently were particular kingdoms, whose true names (which we there had out of the Mogul's own records) with their principal cities and rivers, their situation and borders, their extent in length and breadth, I shall first set down very briefly, beginning at the north-west. Yet as I name these several provinces, I shall by the way take notice of some particulars in them which are most remarkable.

1. Candahore, the chief city so called; it lies from the heart of the Mogul's territories north-

north-west ; it confines with the King of Persia, and was antiently a province belonging to him.

2. Cabut, the chief city so called, the extremest part north of this Emperor's dominions ; it confineth with Tartaria ; the river Nilob hath its beginning in it, whose current is southerly, 'till it dischargeth itself into Indus.

3. Multan, the chief city so called ; it lieth south from Cabut and Candahore, and to the west joins with Persia. This province is fam'd for many excellent bows and arrows made in it : The bows made of horn, excellently glued and put together ; the arrows of small canes or reeds, both of them curiously set off by rich paint and varnish : They which are made here, are more neat and good than in any part of East-India besides.

4. Haiacan, the province of the Baloches, who are a very stout and warlike people, that dare fight. I insert this, because there are infinite multitudes of people in the Mogul's territories, who appear as likely as these, but so low-spirited, (as I shall after observe) that they dare not fight. This province hath no renowned city. The famous river Indus (called by the inhabitants Skind) borders it on the east ; and Lar, a province belonging to the King of Persia, meets it on the west.

5. Buckor, the chief city called Buckor-Seccor ; that famous river Indus makes its way through it, and greatly enricheth it.

6. Tatia,

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6. Tatia, the chief city so called; the river Indus makes many islands in it exceeding fruitful and pleasant; the main current whereof meets with the sea at Sundee, a place very famous for many curious handicrafts.

7. Soret, the chief city is called Janagar; it is but a little province, yet very rich, it lies upon Guzarat; it hath the ocean to the south.

8. Jesselmure, the chief city so called; it joineth with Soret; but Buckor and Iatta lie to the west thereof.

9. Attack, the chief city so called; it lieth on the east side of Indus, which parts it from Haiacan.

10. Peniab, which signifieth five waters, because it is seated amongst five rivers, all tributaries to Indus; which, somewhat south of Lahore, made but one current: It is a large province, and most fruitful. Lahore is the chief city thereof, built very large, and abounds both in people and riches, one of the most principal cities for trade in all India.

11. Chishmere, the chief city called Siranakar; the river Bhat finds a way through it, though it be very mountainous, and so creeps to the sea.

12. Banchish, the chief city is called Bishur; it lieth east, somewhat southerly from Chishmeere, from which it is divided by the river Indus.

13. Jangapore, the chief city so called; it lieth

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lieth upon the river Kaul, one of those five rivers which water Peniab.

14. Jenba, the chief city so called; it lieth east of Peniab.

15. Dellee, (which signifies a heart, and is seated in the heart of the Mogul's territories) the chief city so called; it lieth between Jenba and Agra; the river Jemni (which runneth through Agra, and after falleth into Ganges) begins in it. This Dellee is both an antient and a great city, the seat of the Mogul's ancestors, where most of them lie interred. It was once the city and seat of King Porus, who was conquered about this place by Alexander the Great; and here he encountering with huge elephants, as well as with a mighty host of men, said, as Curtius reports, *Tandem per animum meo inveni periculum*, that he had met with dangers equal to his great mind. I was told by Tom. Coryate, (who took special notice of this place) that he being in the city of Dellee, observed a very great pillar of marble, with a Greek inscription upon it, which time hath almost quite worn out, erected (as he supposed) there and then, by Great Alexander, to preserve the memory of that famous victory.

16. Bando, the chief city so called; it connecteth Agra to the west.

17. Malway, a very fruitful province; Rannetipore is its chief city.

18. Chitor, an antient great kingdom, the chief city so called, which standeth upon a mighty

mighty high hill flat on the top, walled about at the least ten English miles.

There appear to this day above a hundred ruin'd churches, and divers fair palaces, which are lodged in like manner among the ruins, besides many exquisite pillars of carved stone, and the ruins likewise at the least of a hundred thousand stone houses, as many English by their observation have guessed. There is but one ascent unto it, cut out of a firm rock to which a man must pass through four (sometimes very magnificent) gates. Its chief inhabitants at this day are Ziim and Ohim, birds and wild beasts; but the stately ruins thereof give a shadow of its beauty while it flourished in its pride. It was won from Ramas, an ancient Indian prince, who was forced to live himself ever after in high mountainous places adjoining to that province, and his posterity to live there ever since. It was taken from him by Achabar Padsha, (the father of that King who lived and reigned when I was in those parts) after a very long siege, which famished the besieged, without which it could never have been gotten. Let me digress here a little, and put my reader in mind of a sad truth, which he must needs know already, how that this hunger is the most powerful commander, the most absolute conqueror in the world; for though nature may be content, and in extremities can make shift with a little, yet something must be had; bread being the staff of life,

life, the prop, the pillar which next under the giver hereof, keeps up these houses of clay. Earthly enemies, be they never so many, never so mighty, may be long opposed, but famine is irresistible. A man may fly from a sword, the arrow of pestilence may miss him; but there is no defence nor resistance against hunger, against thirst; which sometimes made the besieged Bethulians (as their story relates) to faint and die in the streets of their city, for want of water. The widow of Zarephthah was in a very low condition (in a time of a most miserable famine) when she told the prophet Elias, that she had left for her sustenance but "a handful of meal in a barrel, and a little oil in a cruse, and she was gathering two sticks to dress it for herself and son, that they might eat and die," 1 Kings 17, 12; for when that provision was gone, all was gone: O how great is the extremity of famine! in which some have been threatened "to eat their own dung, and drink their own piss." 2 Kings 18, 27. In what a sad case were the people in the siege of Samaria, when one woman said unto another, "give me thy son, and we will eat him to-day, and we will eat my son to-morrow." 2 Kings 6, 29. So in the siege and streightness of Jerusalem, "when the women did eat the fruit of their own bodies, their children of a span long," Lam. 2, 20; when by reason of famine "the visages of these men were made blacker than coals, and the hands of pitiful

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pitiful women" were forc'd, by reason of the most grievous extremities, by the want of all bodily provisions, "to boil their own children to be their meat," Lam. 4, 8. It were well if people in the enjoyment of spread tables, and full cups, would be often thinking of such sad stories, which indeed are much better apprehended by the empty, than by full and pampered bellies: *Ingens telum necessitas*: there is no such strong prevailing weapon as want, as want of food is; the loss (as it hath been of many other places) so of this (sometimes most famous) city: And thus, gained as it was by the command of the conqueror, so now it is demolished.

19. Guzarat, a very goodly, large, and exceeding rich province; it enclōseth the bay of Cambaya; its chief city is Amadavaz; besides, it hath in it Cambaya, Brodera, Baroch and Surat, fair cities; but the first of those I named, more spacious, populous, and rich than any of the other. It is watered with many goodly rivers, as that of Cambaya, (falsely supposed to be Indus) with the river Narboddah (passing by Baroch, and so to the sea) with the river Taplee, which watereth Surat. The merchants which are the natives of this province, trade to the Red Sea, to Achin, and to divers other places.

20. Chandis, the chief city called Bram-pore, which is very great, rich, and full of people. Adjoining to this province lived a petty

petty prince, called Partapsha, tributary to the Mogul; and this is the most southernmost part of all his territories.

21. Berar, the chief city is called Shapore, the southernmost part whereof doth likewise bound this empire.

22. Narvar, the chief city is called Gehud; it is watered by a fair river, that much enricheth it, and dischargeth itself into Ganges.

23. Gwalior, the chief city so called, where the Mogul hath a very rich treasury of gold and silver kept in this city, within an exceeding strong castle, wherein the King's prisoners are likewise kept. The castle is continually guarded by a very strong company of armed soldiers.

24. Agra, a principal and very rich province, the chief city so called, this great Emperor's metropolis, in north latitude about 28 degrees and a half. It is very well watered by the river Jemni. This and Lahore are the two principal and choice cities of this empire, betwixt whom is that Long Walk (I made mention of before) of four hundred miles in length, shaded by great trees on both sides: This is looked upon by travellers, who have found the comfort of that cool shade, as one of the rarest and most beneficial works in the whole world.

25. Sanbat, the chief city so called; the river Jemni parts it from Narvar, and after at the city Hellabats falls into that most famous

river Ganges, which is called by the inhabitants of East-India, Ganga.

26. Bakar, the chief city called Bikaner; it lieth on the west side of the river Ganges.

27. Nagracot, the chief city so called, in which there is a chapel most richly set forth, being ceiled and paved with plate of pure silver, most curiously imbossed over head in several figures, which they keep exceeding bright, by often rubbing and burnishing it; and all this cost those poor seduced Indians are at, to do honour to an idol they keep in that chapel. What charge can Heathenish idolators be content to bear for their gross idolatry; nothing is too rich, too precious, or too dear for their idol. And what cost the superstitious Israelites were content to bear for their lewd devotion, we may further see, Ex. 32, 2, they are ready to give their gold, not out of their purses only, but from their ears too, to further their mis-devotion; most willing they were to part with their jewels to their molten God. O how do these Heathens, and these Israelites, condemn thousands, which call themselves Christians, who cannot abide to be at any cost for Religion! That service of God which is most cheap and chargeless, they like best. Those I first named were ready to give freely to their false Gods, these to take all they can from their true God, being very prodigals for their lusts, and very niggards for their souls. The idol thus kept in that so richly adorned

adorned chapel, they call Matta, and it is continually visited by those poor blinded Infidels, who, out of the officiousness of their devotion, cut off some part of their tongues to offer unto it as a sacrifice; which (they say) grow out again as before: But in this I shall leave my reader to a belief, as much suspensive as is my own in this particular. In this province likewise there is another famous pilgrimage to a place called Jallamakee, where, out of cold springs that issue out from amongst hard rocks, are daily to be seen continued eruptions of fire, before which the idolatrous people fall down and worship. Both these places were seen, and strictly observed by Mr. Coryate.

28. Siba, the chief city is called Hardware, where the famous river Ganges passing through or amongst large rocks, makes presently after a pretty full current; but both this and that other great river Indus have their rise and original out of the mountain Caucasus, from whence they both first issue. That principal rock, through which this river Ganges there makes a current, is indeed, or (if not) according to the fancy of the superstitious Indians, like a Cow's head, which of all sensible creatures they love best (of which more hereafter); thither they assemble themselves daily in troops to wash their bodies, ascribing a certain divinity to waters; but more especially to the water in the river Ganges. And

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thither our famous Coryate went likewise to view this place.

29. Kakares, the principal cities are called Dekalee and Purhola; it is a large province, but exceeding mountainous; divided it is from Tartaria by the mountain Caucasus; it is the extremest part north under the Mogul's subjection.

30. Gor, the chief city so called; it is full of mountains; the river Serfily, a tributary unto Ganges, hath its beginning in it.

31. Pitán, the chief city so called; the river Canda waters it, and falls into Ganges in the confines thereof.

32. Kanduaná, the chief city is called Karhakatenka; the river Serfily parts it from Pitán: This and Gor are the north-east bounds of this monarchy.

33. Patná, the chief city so called; the river Ganges bounds it on the west, Serfily on the east; it is a very fertile province.

34. Jesuat, the chief city is called Raia-pore; it lieth east of Patná.

35. Mevat, the chief city is called Narnol; it is very mountainous.

36. Udeffa, the chief city called Jekanat; it is the most remote part east of this empire.

37. Bengala, a most spacious and fruitful province, but more properly to be called a kingdom, which hath two very large provinces within it, Purb and Patán, the one lying on the east, the other on the west side of the ri-

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ver Ganges: It is limited by the gulph of the same name, whereinto the river Ganges (which at last comes to be divided into four great currents) dischargeth itself, after it hath found a way through the Mogul's territories more than fifteen hundred miles in length. The chief cities in it are Ragamahat and Dekaka. It hath many havens and ports belonging unto it, which are places of very great trade.

Now these are the severall provinces belonging to the Great Mogul, and all of them under his subjection, which may be beheld all together at one view, in this most exact affixed map, first made by the 'special observation and direction of that most able and honourable gentleman, Sir Thomas Row, here contracted into a less compass, yet large enough to demonstrate, that this great empire is bounded on the east by the kingdom of Maug; west, with Persia; and with the main ocean southerly; north, with the mountain Caucasus and Tartaria; south, with Decan, and the gulph of Bengala. Decan, lying in the skirts of Asia, is divided betwixt three Mahometan Princes, and some other Indian Rhaiaes; which are Princes likewise.

The length of these provinces is north-west to south-west more than two thousand English miles; north and south the extent thereof is about fourteen hundred miles; the southernmost part lying in twenty, and the northernmost in forty-three degrees of north latitude.

The breadth of this much enlarged and far extended empire, is north-east to south-west about fifteen hundred of the same miles.

And here a great error in geographers must not escape my notice; who in their globes and maps make East-India and China near neighbours, when so many large countries are interposed betwixt them; which great distance may appear by the long travel of the Indian merchants, who are usually (they going and returning all the way by land) in their journey and return, and some stay there, two full years, from Agra to China.

Now to give an exact account of all those fore-named provinces, were more than I am able to undertake; yet out of that which I have observed in some of them, (by travelling many miles up into that country, and then up and down with my Lord Ambassador unto many places there in progress with that King) I shall adventure to guess at all, and think for my particular, that the Great Mogul, considering his most large territories, his full and great treasures, with the many rich commodities his provinces afford, is the greatest and richest known King of the east, if not of the whole world. I shall now therefore fall upon particulars, to make that my observation good: Where

SECTION II.

*Of the Soil there, what it is, and what it
produceth, &c.*

THE most spacious and fertile monarchy, called by the inhabitants Indostan, so much abounds in all necessaries for the use and service of man, to feed, and cloath, and enrich him, as that it is able to subsist and flourish of itself, without the least help from any neighbour-princes or nation.

Here I shall speak first of that which nature requires most, food, which this empire brings forth in abundance; as, singular good wheat, rice, barley, with divers other kinds of good grain to make bread, (the staff of life) and all these sorts of corn in their kinds, very good and exceeding cheap. For their wheat, it is more full, and more white than ours, of which the inhabitants make such pure, well-relished bread, that I may say of it, as one sometimes spake of the bread made in the bishoprick of Leige, it is *panis pane melior*, bread better than bread.

The ordinary sort of people eat bread made of a coarser grain, but both toothsome, wholesome and hearty; they make it up in broad cakes, thick like our oaten-cakes; and then bake it upon small round iron hearths, which they carry with them when they journey from place to place, making use of them in their

tents. It should seem to be an antient custom in the east, as may appear by that president of Sarah when she entertained the Angels, who found her in her tent; "She took fine meal, and did knead it, and made cakes thereof upon the hearth." Gen. xviii. 6.

To their bread they have great abundance of all other good provision, as of butter, (beating their cream into a substance like unto a thick oil, for in that hot climate they can never make it hard) which tho' soft, yet it is very sweet and good. They have cheese likewise in plenty, by reason of their great number of kine, and sheep and goats. Besides, they have a beast very large, having a smooth thick skin without hair, called a Buffelo, which gives good milk; the flesh of them is like beef, but neither so toothsome nor wholesome. These buffeloes are much employed in carrying large skins of water, (for they are very strong beasts) which hang on both sides of them, unto families that want it; their hides make most firm and excellent buff.

They have no want of venison of divers kinds, as red deer, fallow deer, elks, (which are very large, and strong, and fierce creatures) antilopes, kids, &c. but their deer are no where imparked, the whole empire being (as it were) a forest for them; for a man can travel no way but he shall here and there see of them. But because they are every man's game that will make them so, they do not multiply

multiply to do them much hurt, either in their corn, or other places.

To these they have great store of hares, and they have plenty of fowls wild and tame, as abundance of hens, geese, ducks, pigeons, turtle doves, partridges, peacocks, quails, and many other singular good fowl. They have variety of fish; all which, by reason of their plenty, and because many of the natives eat no kind of flesh at all, nor of any thing that hath or may have life, and those that feed on such things eat not freely of any of those living creatures, they are all bought there at such easy rates as if they were not worth the valuing. They do not cut their chickens when they be little to make capons, and therefore they have no creatures of that name, but men, their eunuchs, called there Cogeas, or capons, in their language; so made, when they be very young, and then deprived of all that might after provoke jealousy; and therefore they are put to be attendants on their women, the great men of that nation keeping many of them, a soft tender people, *tener spado*, as Juvenal calls one of them, that never come to have any hair on their faces.

But to return again to their provisions, the beeves of that country differ from ours, in that there are none of them very large; and those they have, have each of them a great bunch of grisly flesh which grows upon the meeting of their shoulders. The flesh of their
beeves

beeves is much whiter than the flesh of ours, and very sweet, tender and good. Their sheep differ from ours by their great fleshy bob-tails, which severed from their bodies are very ponderous. Their wool is generally coarse, but their flesh is not so.

Now to season all their good provisions, there is great store of salt; and to sweeten all, abundance of sugar growing in that country; which, after it is well refined, may be there had at a very low rate; out of which they make very pure white sugar-candy, which may be had there at a small easy price likewise.

Their fruits are every way answerable to the rest, the country abounding in musk-melons (very much better, because they are better digested there by the heat of the sun, than these with us.) They have many water-melons, a very choice good fruit, and some of them as big as our ordinary pompions, and in shape like them; the substance within this fruit is spongy, but exceeding tender and well tasted, of a colour within equally mixed with red and white, and within that an excellent cooling and pleasing liquor. Here are likewise store of pome-granates, pome-citrons; here are lemons and oranges, but I never found any there so good as I have some elsewhere. Here are dates, figs, grapes, prunelloes, almonds, cocoa-nuts, (of which I observed something before) and here they have those most excellent plums, called Mirabolans, the stone of
which

which fruit differs very much from others in its shape, whereon Nature hath curiously quartered several strakes equally divided, very pretty to behold; many of which choice plums (they write) are very cordial, and therefore worth the prizing, are there well preserved, and sent for England,

They have to these another fruit we English, there called a Planten, of which many of them grow in clusters together; they are long in shape, made like unto slender cucumbers, and very yellow when they are ripe, and then, taste like unto a Norwich pear, but much better. Another most excellent fruit they have, called a Mango, growing upon trees as big as our walnut-trees; and as these here, so those trees there, will be very full of that most excellent fruit, in shape and colour like unto our apricots, but much bigger; which taken and rolled in a man's hands when they are through ripe, the substance within them becomes like the pap of a roasted apple, which then suck'd out from about a large stone they have within, is delicately pleasing unto every palate that tastes it. And to conclude with the best of all other their choice fruits, the Annanas, like unto our pine-apples, which seems to the taster to be a most pleasing compound made of strawberries, claret-wine, rose-water, and sugar, well tempered together. In the northernmost parts of this empire they have variety of pears and apples; every where good roots, as carrots,

rots, potatoes, and others like them. They have onions and garlick, and some herbs and small roots for sallads; and in the southernmost parts, ginger growing almost in every place; the large races whereof are there very excellently well preserved, as we may know by our tasting them in England. And all these things I have last named may be there likewise bought at very low rates. And lastly, some one kind or other of their very good and choice fruits may be there had at every time or season of the year.

And here I cannot chuse but take notice of a very pleasant and clear liquor, called Toddy, issuing from a spongy tree, that grows strait and tall without boughs to the top, and there spreads out in tender branches, very like unto those that grow from the roots of our rank and rich artichokes, but much bigger and longer. This toddy-tree is not so big, but that it may be very easily embraced, and the nimble people of that country will climb up as fast to the top thereof (the stem of the tree being rough and crusty) as if they had the advantage of ladders to help them up. In the top tender branches of those trees they make incisions which they open and stop again as they please, under which they hang pots made of large and light gourds, to preserve the influence which issues out of them in a large quantity in the night season, they stopping up those vents in the heat of the day. That which thus distils
farth

forth in the night, if it be taken very early in the morning, is as pleasing to the taste as any new white wine, and much clearer than it. It is a very piercing, medicinal, and inoffensive drink, if taken betimes in the day, only it is a little windy; but if it be kept 'till the heat of the day, the sun alters it so, as if it made it another kind of liquor, for it becomes then very heady, not so well relished, and unwholesome; and when it is so, not a few of our drunken seamen chuse to drink it; and I think they so do, because it will then presently turn their brains; for there are too many of the common sort of those men who use the sea, who love those brutish distempers too much, which turn a man out of himself, and leave a beast in the skin of a man. But for that drink, if it be taken in its best, and most proper season, I conceive it to be, of itself very wholesome, because it provokes urine exceedingly; the further benefit whereof some there have found by happy experience, being thereby eased from their torture inflicted by that shame of physicians, and tyrant of all maladies, the Stone. And so cheap too is this most pleasing wine, that a man may there have more than enough for a very little money.

At Surat, and so to Agra, and beyond, it seldom or never rains, but one season of the year; but yet there is a refreshing dew during all that time the Heavens there are thus shut up,

up, which every night falls and cools, and comforts and refresheth the face of the earth. Those general rains begin near the time that the sun comes to the northern tropick, and so continue 'till his return back to the line. These showers at the beginning most extremely violent are usher'd in, and usually take their leave with most fearful tempests of thunder and lightning, more terrible than I can express, yet seldom do harm; the reason in nature may be the subtilty of the air in those parts, wherein there are fewer thunder-stones made, than in such climates where the air is thick, gross, and cloudy. During those three months, it rains usually every day, more or less; sometimes one whole quarter of the moon together, scarce without any intermission; which abundance of moisture, with the heat of the sun, doth so enrich their land, which they never force (if I observed right) by soiling of it, as that, like Egypt, by the inundation of Nilus, it makes it fruitful all the year after. When the time of this rain is passed over, the face of the sky there is presently so serene and clear, as that scarcely one cloud appears in their hemisphere the nine months after.

And here a strong argument, that may further, and most infallibly shew the goodness of their soil, shall not escape my pen, most apparent in this, that when the ground there hath been destitute of rain nine months together, and looks all of it like the barren sands in the
deserts

deserts of Arabia, where there is not one spire of green grass to be found; within a few days after those fat enriching showers begin to fall, the face of the earth there (as it were by a new resurrection) is so revived, and throughout so renewed, as that it is presently covered all over with a pure green mantle. And moreover, to confirm that which before I observed concerning the goodness of that soil, amongst many hundred acres of corn of divers kinds I have there beheld, I never saw any but what was very rich and good, standing as thick on the ground as the land could well bear it.

They till their ground with oxen and foot-ploughs; their seed-time in May, and the beginning of June, they taking their time to dispatch all that work before that long rainy season comes; and though the ground then hath been all the time we named before without any sufficient moisture by showers, or otherwise, to supple and make it more fit for tillage, yet the soil there is such a brittle fat mould (which they sow year after year) as that they can very easily till it. Their harvest is in November and December, the most temperate months of all their year.

Their ground is not enclosed, unless some small quantity near towns and villages, which stand scattered up and down this vast empire very thick, though for want of the true names not inserted in the map.

They mow not their grass (as we) to make hay,

hay, but cut it off the ground, either green or withered, as they have occasion to use it.

They sow tobacco in abundance, and they take it too very much, but after a strange way, much different from us; for first, they have little earthen pots, shaped like our small flower-pots, having a narrow neck, and an open round top, out of the belly of which comes a small spout, to the lower part of which spout they fill the pot with water, then putting their tobacco loose in the top, and a burning coal upon it, they having first fasten'd a very small strait hollow cane or reed (not bigger than a small arrow) within that spout, a yard or ell long, the pot standing on the ground, draw that smoak into their mouths, which first falls upon the superficies of the water, and much discolours it. And this way of taking their tobacco, they believe makes it much more cool and wholesome. The tobacco which grows there is doubtless in the plant as good as in any other place of the world, but they know not how to cure and order it, like those in the West-Indies, to make it so rich and strong.

The country is beautified with many woods and groves of trees, in which those winged choristers make sweet musick. In those woods some excellent hawks make their nests; and there are very often to be seen great flocks of parakeetoes, or little parrots, who have their breeding and lodging amongst those melancholy shades. And (in the number of many other
creatures

sappy ; so that when we brake a twig of it, there would come a substance out of some of it, like unto milk ; and the sappiness of that under-wood may (as I apprehend it) be ascribed in part to the fatness of that soil. Some of their trees have leaves upon them broad as bucklers, others are parted small like our fern or brakes, as the tamerine tree, which bears cods somewhat like our beans, in which when the fruit is ripe there is a very well tasted pulp, though it be sour, most wholesome to open the body, and to cool and cleanse the blood.

There is one very great and fair tree growing in that soil, of special observation, out of whose branches or great arms grow little sprigs downward, 'till they take root, (as they will certainly do if they be let alone) and taking root, at length prove strong supporters unto those large branches that yield them. Whence it comes to pass, that those trees in time (their strong and far extended arms being in many places thus supported) grow to a very great height, and extend themselves to such an incredible breadth, they growing round every way, as that hundreds of men may shade themselves under one of them at any time ; the rather, because these, as all other trees in those southern parts of East-India, (as particularly I observed before) still keep on their green coats.

For their flowers, they are for the generality like unto painted weeds, which, though their colour

colour be excellent, they rather delight the eye than affect the smell; for not many of them, except roses, and some few kinds more, are any way fragrant: Amongst them that are, there is one white flower, like to Spanish jessamin, (if it be not the same) which is exceedingly well scented, of which they make a most excellent pure sweet oil, with which they anoint their heads, and other parts of their bodies; which makes the company of those that do so very savoury and sweet.

This empire is watered with many goodly rivers (as they are expressed in the map) the two principal are Indus and Ganges; where this thing is very observable, (for they say there that it is very true) that one pint of the water of the Ganges weigheth less by one ounce than any other water in that whole great monarchy: And therefore (they say) that the Mogul, wheresoever he is, hath water brought him from that river, that he may drink thereof, by some appointed for that service, who are continually either going to it, or coming from it: The water is brought to the King in fine copper jars, excellently well tinn'd on the inside, and seal'd up when they are delivered to the water-bearers for the King's use; two of which jars every one carries, hanging upon slings fitted for the porter's shoulders.

Besides their rivers, they have store of wells fed with springs; and to these they have many

ponds, which they call Tanques, some of them exceeding large, fill'd with water when that abundance of rain falls (of which more hereafter.)

That most antient and innocent drink of the world, Water, is the common drink of East-India; it is far more pleasant and sweet than our water; and must needs be so, because in all hot countries it is more rarified, better digested, and freed from its rawness by the heat of the sun, and therefore in those parts it is more desired of all that come thither, tho' they never made it their drink before, than any other liquor, and agrees better with men's bodies. Sometimes we boil the water there with some wholesome seeds, and after drink it cold, and then it is by much more cold after an heat; (like unto some men, who have shewed formerly much zeal and heat for good, and afterward became more chill and cold than ever they were before.) Sometimes we mingle our water there with the juice of lemons and sugar, which makes an exceeding pleasant drink, which we call there sherbet.

Some small quantity of wine, but not common, is made amongst them; they call it rack, distilled from sugar, and a spicy rind of a tree called Jagra; it is very wholesome, if taken very moderately.

Many of the people there, who are strict in their religion, drink no wine at all; but they use a liquor more wholesome than pleasant,

sant, they call coffee, made by a black seed boiled in water, which turns it almost into the same colour, but doth very little alter the taste of the water; notwithstanding it is very good to help digestion, to quicken the spirits, and to cleanse the blood.

There is yet another help for those that forbear wine, by an herb they have, called beetle, or paune, in shape somewhat like an ivy-leaf, but more tender; they chew it with an hard nut, somewhat like a nutmeg, (but not in taste like that) and a very little pure white-lime amongst the leaves, and when they have sucked down the juice, put forth the rest. It hath (as they say, and I believe very much of it) many rare qualities, for it preserves the teeth, strengthens the stomach, comforts the brain, and it cures or prevents a tainted breath. This I am sure of, that such is the pleasing smell of this beetle, being chewed in a close room, that the breath of him so chewing it fills it with a very pleasing savour.

The empire further affords very excellent good horses, curiously made, high mettled, and well managed by the natives. Besides their own, they have many of the Persian, Tartarian, and Arabian breed, which have the name to be the choice ones of the world. But of these more when I come to speak of the inhabitants.

Here are a great number of camels, dromedaries, mules, and asses, employed for the car-

riage of burthens, or the carrying of the people, to which use also they employ many of their oxen, and their buffeloes likewise (which before I spake of.) The camels, as I oft observed there, have one strange quality, they cry and make a very piteous noise at night, when they take off their burthens; but in the morning, when they are laid on, the poor creatures are very still and quiet, making no noise at all. Many wicked men, who are most fitly called by the psalmist, "the beasts of the people," Psal. lxxviii. 30. (for so it is in the vulgar translation, *beast*, for want of reason, and for not using reason well, worse than brutes) may be most fitly resembled by those dull camels, who being burthen'd and clogg'd with a great load of sin already, enough to press them down into that bottomless pit, seem to feel nothing, nor to complain at all, but with much quiet and content keep on their burthens, and take up more still; as if that wickedness, which the prophet Zachary, 5. 7. compares to a talent of lead, were as light as a feather. But when we go about by our exhortations, intreaties, persuasions of them, and by the strongest arguments besides we can invent, press them "to suffer God through Christ Jesus to save their souls," and consequently to get themselves freed from that intolerable burthen, which will unavoidably sink them into Hell at last, if they be not freed from it, then these, like those stupid creatures,

cry

cry and complain, and seem to be much disquieted, as if we did them much wrong, while we labour to do them the greatest right. The reason is, because their pride (as every beloved sin besides) "compasseth them as a chain," Psal. lxxiii. 6. it is their jewel, their ornament, (as they think) and therefore they will keep it, they will not part from it, though it be their greatest shame, because they esteem it their chiefest glory. I would intreat my reader, when he comes to this digression, to read it over and over again.

The dromedary is called by the prophet Jeremy, ii. 23. the swift dromedary; the reason may be, because these, like the camels, have very long legs, and consequently make long steps, and so travelling rid ground apace; or because at a pinch, or time of need, they will carry a man exceeding far without rest, and but with a very little food.

They have some rhinoceros, but they are not common; which are very large square beasts, bigger than the largest oxen England affords; their skins, without hair, lie in great wrinkles upon their necks, breasts, and backs, which doth not make them seem lovely to the beholders. They have very strong but short horns, growing upon very firm bones, that lie over their nostrils; they grow upwards, towards the top of their head, every one of these creatures being fortified with one of them, and that enough to make them so terrible,

rible, that they are shunn'd by other, tho' very large creatures. With these horns, (from which those creatures have their names) are made very excellent cups, which (as is conceived) give some virtue unto the liquor put into them, if it stand any long time in those cups.

And now to conclude with the largest and the most intelligent (as we shall hereafter shew) of all the sensible creatures the earth produceth, the elephant, of which this vast monarchy hath abundance; and of them the Mogul is master of many thousands; and his nobles, and all men of quality besides, in those large territories, have more or less of them. But of these much shall be spoken in my sixth section.

I observed before, that the inhabitants of this empire did carry most of their burthens upon the backs of their beasts; and in a special manner this people employ their camels and dromedaries for this use, to carry their merchandise from place to place; and therefore I shall let my reader see,

SECTION

SECTION III.

What the chief Merchandise, and most Staple and other Commodities are, which are bought in this Empire.

THE most staple commodities of this empire are indico and cotton wool; of that wool they make divers sorts of callico, which had that name (as I suppose) from Callicute, not far from Goa, where that kind of cloth was first bought by the Portuguese.

For the spices brought hither by the East-Indian fleet, they are had more southerly, from the islands of Sumatra, from Java major and minor, from the Molucca's, and from other places thereabout: In which, as in the Molucca islands, and those other parts too from whence the richest spices come, the low-country merchants have got such footing, and such a particular interest, that our English factors there (for the present) buy those commodities, as we sometimes do buy provisions and commodities here at home, out of the engrossing hucksters hands: So that our English in those parts have a free trade for no kind of spice, but for that which is one of the lowest priced, namely pepper, which they fetch from Bantam. Which more general trade of the Dutch they have formerly gained, at a very vast expence, by fortifying themselves there in the places wherever they settle; and then
standing

standing upon their guard, put a kind of force upon the natives to sell them their commodities.

What the carriage of that people hath formerly been in those parts towards our English, (where their sword hath been longest) is sufficiently made known by other pens: This I may conclude from their example (and I would that they were singular and alone in it) that when a people will not be ordered by that royal law, which commands us. Mat. vii. 12. "to do nothing, but what we would be content to suffer; as to do nothing unto others, but what we would be well content to suffer from others:" But on the contrary, when they measure things, not by the strait and even rule of equity, but by the crooked and oblique line of power, arming their injustice to do what they please, because they can do what they will: This causeth many to make very bold with God in cases that seem to give advantage unto their high thoughts and commodities; for what evil cannot ambition and covetousness do, when they are backt with an arbitrary and unlimited power here below, if they be not checkt by a stronger arm from above? Whence we see it often come to pass, that when the laws of nature and nations, yea of God himself, lie in the way of their profit, or earthly advantages, (whatever their sufferings or loss be afterward) they either spurn them thence, or else tread and trample upon

upon them at pleasure, to compass their ends for the present. This I can say of the Dutch, (something from my own knowledge, but more from the report of others) that when I lived in those parts, and we English there were more for number than they, and consequently could receive no hurt from them, we there used them as neighbours and brethren; but in other places, where they had the like advantage of us, they dealt with us neither like Christians, nor men. But I will not here any longer digress, but return to speak further of the commodities to be had in East-India.

The indico we bring thence, is a good and rich commodity. It is there made of little leaves, not bigger than those on our gooseberry bushes, and the shrubs that bear those leaves are about their bigness. These leaves they slip off from the small branches of those bushes, which grow with round and full heads without pricks. The leaves thus stripp'd off, are laid in great heaps together certain days, 'till they have been in a hot sweat; then they are removed, and put into very great and deep vessels fill'd with a sufficient quantity of water to steep them in, where they leave their blue tincture, with their substance; this done, the water is drain'd out into other exceeding broad, but very shallow vessels or vats, made of plaster, (like to that we call plaster of Paris) which will keep in all the liquor 'till the hot sun in short time extracts the moisture from it; and
then

then what remains in the bottom is a cream about a quarter of an inch thick, which suddenly becomes hard and dry, and that is our indico; the best sort whereof comes from Biana, near unto Agra, and a coarser sort is made at Cirkeese, not far from Amadanaz; about which two places are a very great number of those shrubs planted which bear those leaves.

For their cotton wool, they sow seed, and very large quantities of ground in East-India are thus seeded. It grows up like small rose-bushes, and then puts forth many yellow blossoms; those afterward falling off, there remain little cods, about the bigness of a man's thumb, in which the substance at first is moist and yellow; but as they ripen, they swell bigger, 'till they break their covering, and after, in a short time, that within them becomes wool, as white as snow, and then they gather it. Amongst that wool they find seeds to sow again as they have occasion; but those shrubs bear that wool three or four years ere they supplant them. Of this cotton-wool they make divers sorts of white cloth, (as I before observed) some broad, some narrow, some coarse, some fine, and very fine indeed, for some that I have seen there I believe was as fine as our purest lawn. Much of the coarser sort of that cloth they dye into colours, or else stain in it variety of well-shaped and well-coloured flowers or figures, which are so fixed
in

in the cloth, that no water can wash them out. That pretty art of staining, or printing and fixing those variety of colours in that white cloth, the people of Asia have engrossed to themselves, where the most curious pintadaes are made; whither neighbouring, as well as more remote nations, bring their money to fetch them thence.

In Decan, which bounds upon the Mogul's territories south, (the princes whereof are tributaries unto him) there are many diamond rocks, in which are found those most precious of all other stones; and they are to be sold in this empire, and consequently to be had by those who have skill to buy them, and money to pay for them. But as all the stones in East-India or not precious, so those that are the natives know very well how to value.

But further, for the merchandising commodities the Mogul's provinces afford, there is musk (by reason of their abundance of musk-cats) to be had in good quantity; and there are bezar-stones, which are not so called from any beast of that name, but they grow in the maws of goats, which when they observe to grow exceeding lean, they kill them, and find those stones in them; and if they did not so, that stone in them would make an end of them; by which we may observe, how that precious bezoar-stone, that proves many times such a cordial and preservative to the life of man, is
destructive

destructive and mortal unto the poor creature from whence it is taken : Like that precious word of God, that may proceed from the lips of him that hath a lean soul, and may do others good, but himself nothing but mischief. The greatest number of those goats, from whence those bezoars are taken, feed on the mountains of Lar, in the Persian territories, the west bound (as before) of the Mogul's great empire.

They have some store of filk here ; but the greatest quantity of that rich commodity, that any place in the whole world affords, comes out of Georgia, a province belonging to the King of Persia. Those Georgians and Armenians, (both under the command of the Persian King) are by profession Christians, like those of the Greek church. And the Abissins, under the command of Prester John, are in profession Christian likewise, but these Abissins circumcise their males before they baptise them. Alas poor people ! who for want of better instruction cannot know what they should, and therefore know not what they do. All those Armenians, Georgians, and Abissins, (as I have it from others, but cannot relate something of it out of my own knowledge) even all of them, see Christ but in the dark, and by reason of the general ignorance that is in them, cannot know God as they ought in Jesus Christ. These are the different cases of many which profess Christ in the world ; some cannot

cannot know him, some care not to know him, and some will not know him. Amongst the first of these, they all may be ranked whom I but now named, as many others of the Greek, and those that profess Christianity in Russian churches, with many-many others of the Romish, who have the truths of God sealed up in an unknown tongue, to keep and to continue them in ignorance; who instead of the two breasts of the church, the law and the gospel, are fed with mouldy and finnowed traditions; and their case being so, our charity towards them may lead us thus far, to believe that they would do better, if they knew better; and this may speak much in their excuse. But what plea may be made for us of this nation, that do not what we know; or if we be ignorant, it is because we will be so; not because we cannot know, but because we care not for knowledge, and will not know.

But to return to the place where I began my last digression: I told you that the people there have some store of silk, of which they make velvets, sattins, taffaties, either plain or mingled, or striped in party-colours; but the best of them, for richness and goodness, come not near those which are made in the parts of Italy.

Many curious boxes, trunks, standishes, carpets, with other excellent manufactures, may be there had. They have medicinable drugs, and amongst them very much cassia growing

growing there in canes. They have gums well scented; and much *lignum aloes*; which burnt, yields a perfume better than any one thing in the world that I ever smelled. They have great store of gum-lac, of which they make their hard wax, and that gum likewise they there employ for many other neat uses. The earth there yields good minerals of lead, iron, copper, brass; and (they say) that they have silver mines too, which (if true) they need not open, being so enriched from other nations of Europe; and other parts, who yearly bring thither great quantities of silver to purchase their commodities: Which I collect from our English trade there; for though we vent some quantity of our woollen cloth, with some other things we carry thither, yet the greatest part by far of commodities brought thence, are caught by the silver hook. And this is the way to make any nation of the world rich, to bring, and leave silver in it, and to take away commodities: And, as all rivers run into the sea; so many silver streams into this monarchy, and there stay; the people of any nation being there very welcome, that bring in their bullion, and carry away the others merchandise; but it is look'd on as a crime that is not easily answered, to transport any quantity of silver thence.

The coin or bullion brought thither from any place, is presently melted and refined, and the Mogul's stamp (which is his name and titles

titles; in Persian characters) put upon it. The coin there is more pure than in any other part of the world, being (as they report) made of pure silver without any alloy; so that in the Spanish money, the purest of all Europe, there is some loss.

They call their pieces of money roopes, of which there are some of divers values, the meanest worth two shillings and three-pence, and the best two shillings and nine-pence sterling. By these they account their estates and payments. They have another coin of inferior value in Guzarat, called mamoodies, about twelve-pence sterling; both the former, and these, are made in halves, and some few in quarters; so that three-pence is the least piece of silver current in those countries, and very few of them to be seen. That which passeth up and down in exchange under this rate, is brass or copper money, which they call pices, whereof three, or thereabouts, countervail a penny. Those pices are made so massy and thick, as that the baser metal of which they are made, put to other uses, is well nigh worth the silver they are rated at. Their silver coin is made either round or square, but so thick, as that it never breaks, nor wears out. They have pure gold coin likewise, some pieces of great value, but these are not very ordinarily seen amongst them.

I have now done with this section, wherein I have related much of the commodities and
I riches,

riches, as before of the provisions and pleasures which are to be found in that vast monarchy, and I conceive nothing but what truth will justify. And now, lest that place I have describ'd should seem to be an earthly Paradise, I must acquaint my reader, that the contents there found by such as have lived in those parts, are sour'd and sauc'd with many unpleasant things, which he must needs know when he takes notice

SECTION IV.

Of the Discommodities, Inconveniences, and Annoyances, that are to be found or met withal in this Empire.

AS the poets feigned that the garden of the Hesperides (wherein were trees that bare golden apples) was guarded by a serpent; so there are stings here as well as fruits; all considered together may not unfitly be resembled by those locusts mentioned Rev. ix. 7, 8, 10. "who had the faces of men, and the hair of women, and crowns as of gold on their heads, but they had too the teeth of lions, and the tails of scorpions, and there were stings in those tails." Here are many things to content and please the enjoyers of them, to make their life more comfortable, but

but withal here are teeth to tear, and stings to kill : All put together, are nothing but a mixture made up (as indeed all earthly things are) of good and bad ; of bitter, and sweet ; of what contents, and of what contents not.

The annoyances of these countries are, first many harmful beasts of prey, as lions, tygers, wolves, jackalls, with others ; those jackalls seem to be wild dogs, who in great companies run up and down in the silent night, much disquieting the peace thereof, by their most hideous noise. Those most ravenous creatures will not suffer a man to rest quietly in his grave ; for if his body be not buried very deep, they will dig him thence, and bury as much of him again as they can consume, in their hungry bellies. In their rivers are many crocodiles, and—*Latet anguis in herba*, on the land, not a few overgrown snakes, with other venomous and pernicious creatures. In our houses there we often see lizards, shaped like unto crocodiles, of a sad green colour, and but little creatures, the fear of whom presents itself most to the eye, for I do not know that they are hurtful. There are many scorpions to be seen, which are oftentimes felt, which creep into their houses, especially in that time of the rains, whose stinging is most sensible and deadly, if the patient have not presently some oil that is made of scorpions, to anoint the parts affected, which is a sudden and a certain cure. But if the man can get the scor-

pion that stung him, (as sometimes they do) the oily substance it affords, being beaten in pieces, suddenly applied, is a present help. The sting of the scorpion may be a very fit resemblance of the sting of death, the bitterness and anguish whereof nothing can assuage and cure so well as a serious consideration, and a continual application of the thoughts of dying. *Facile contemnit omnia, qui cogitat se semper moriturum*, that man may trample upon every thing whose meditations are taken up with the thoughts of his change. He cannot die but well, who dies daily, daily in his preparations for death, though he die not presently.

The scorpions are in shape like unto our cray-fishes, and not bigger, and look black like them before they are boiled; they have a little round tail which turns up, and lies usually upon their backs, at the end whereof is their sting, which they do not put in and let out of their bodies, as other venomous creatures do, but it always appears in their tails ready to strike; it is very sharp and hard, and not long, but crooked like the talon of a hawk.

The abundance of flies (like those swarms in Egypt, Ex. viii. 21.) in those parts did very much annoy us; for in the heat of the day their numberless number was such, as that we could not be quiet in any place for them, they being ready to fly into our cups, and to
cover

cover our meat as soon as it was placed on the table; and therefore we had always some of the natives we kept there, who were our servants, to stand round about us on purpose while we were eating, with napkins to fright them away. And as in the day one kind of ordinary flies troubled us; so in the night we were likewise very much disquieted with another sort, called musketoes, like our gnats, but somewhat less; and in that season we were very much troubled with chinchus, another sort of little troublesome and offensive creatures, like little ticks; and these annoyed us two ways, at first by their biting and stinging, and then by their stink. From all which we were by far more free when we lodged in tents (as there we did much) than when we abode in houses; where in great cities and towns (to add unto the disquiets I before named) there were such an abundance of large hungry rats, that some of us were bitten in the night as we lay in our beds, either on our toes or fingers, or on the tips of our ears, or on the tops of our noses, or in any part of our bodies besides they could get into their mouths.

The winds in those parts (as I observed before) which they call the monsoons, blow constantly one way, altering but few points, fix months southerly, and fix months northerly. The months of April, May, and the beginning of June, 'till the rain falls, are so extremely hot, as that the wind when it blows

but gently, receives such heat from the parched ground, that the reflection thereof is ready to blister a man's face that receives the breath of it. And if God did not provide for those parts, by sending a breeze or breath, or small gale of wind daily, which somewhat tempers that hot sulphureous air, there were no living in that torrid zone for us English, who have been used to breath in a temperate climate ; and notwithstanding that benefit, the air in that place is so hot to us English, that we should be every day stewed in our own moisture, but that we stir very little in the heat of the day, and have cloathing about us as thin as we can make it. And no wonder, for the coldest day in the whole year, at noon, (unless it be in the time when those rains fall) is hotter there than the hottest day in England.

Yet I have there observed most strange and sudden changes of heat and cold within a few hours, as in November and December, the most temperate months of their year, (as before) and then at midnight the air was so exceeding fresh and cold, that it would produce a thin ice on the water ; and then as we lay in our tents we would have been very glad of the warmth of a rug upon us, and the noon of that following day would be so extreme hot, as that it was troublesome then to keep on the thinnest cloathing.

Sometimes there the wind blows very high in those hot and dry seasons, not long before the

the rain begins to fall, raising up into the air a very great height thick clouds of dust and sand, which appear like dark clouds full of moisture, but they deceive like the brook in Job vi. 15. that hath no water in it. These dry showers (which almighty God threatens to send among a people as an heavy judgment, Deut. xxviii. 24. "when he will make the rain of a land powder and dust") most grievously annoy all those amongst whom they fall, enough to smite them all with a present blindness; filling their eyes, ears, nostrils, and their mouths are not free if they be not also well guarded; searching every place, as well within as without our tents or houses, so that there is not a little key-hole, of any trunk or cabinet, if it be not covered, but receives some of that dust into it, the dust forced to find a lodging any where, every where, being so driven and forced, as it is, by the extreme violence of the wind.

But there is no place nor country under Heaven, nor yet ever hath been, without some discommodities. The garden of Eden had a serpent in it, Gen. iii. He that made all things by his absolute command, hath so mixed, and tempored, and ordered all things here below, by his infinite wisdom, that either too much heat, or too much cold, either the barrenness of the soil, or the unwholsomeness of the air, or something else, ministers matter of exception more or less against every place, that the

sons of men might hence learn, that there is no true and perfect content to be found in any kingdom, but in that of Heaven: For while we are here, trouble and peace, mourning and joy, comfort and discontent, come all of them by courses and successions, so that there is no weeding up of those tares, no removing of those annoyances from the life of man.

And so having observed what is truth, and what is enough to be said of the inconveniencies and annoyances, as well as of the commodities and contentments which are to be found in those parts, I come now to speak of the people that inhabit there. And because many particulars will necessarily fall within the compass of this part of my observations, which would more weary my reader if they should be presented unto him in one continued discourse, I shall therefore (as I have begun) break this into sections, and proceed to speak

SECTION V.

Of the Inhabitants of East-India, who they are, of their most excellent Ingenuity expressed by their curious Manufactures, their Markets at Home to buy and sell in, and their Trade Abroad.

THE inhabitants in general of Indostan were all antiently Gentiles, called in general Hindoes, belonging to that very great number

number of those which are called Heathens, which take up almost two thirds of the number of the people who inhabit the face of the whole earth: But of this more hereafter. There are some Jews (but they are not many) here and there scattered and lost, as it were, in those other great numbers of people; the greatest company of Jews now to be found together in any one place of the world (as I have been made to believe from the observation of others) are to be seen at Grand Cairo, in Egypt, whither they are returned, and where settled, to take their fill of their forefathers flesh-pots. For the inhabitants of East-India, ever since they were subdued by Tamerlane, they have been mixed with Mahometans, which though they be by far in respect of their number less than those Pagans, yet they bear all the sway, and command all in those countries.

There are besides these, now become as it were natives there, a great number of Persians and Tartars, who are Mahometans by religion, that there inhabit, very many of which the Mogul keeps for soldiers to serve on horseback, called there Haddees: There are of both these many daring, stout, hardy, and valiant men. For the Persians, there are of them many comely persons, not so swarthy as those of East-India. But for the Tartars I have there seen, and I have seen many of them, they are
more

more to be commended for their valour than beauty, a square, stout, strong people, having platter faces, and flat noses. There are many Armenians and some Abissins amongst them, who wear the livery of Christ, in being called Christians; the greatest part of whose Christianity lies in their name. Those Armenians there make some wine to sell, of raisins, sugar, and other ingredients, that is strong, heady, and luscious, tasted too much by many Christians that come thither, as by those too that make it. Of the green grapes there, though they have abundance, and they great, sweet, and good, yet they make no wine at all. The Mahometans, in obedience to a precept of Mahomet's which forbids wine, neither make nor drink it, and others are not suffered there to make it of those green grapes, for fear, as I suppose, they should make and drink too much of it.

To those I have named of other nations, (that are to be seen in East-India) there are besides some few almost of every people in Asia, and many Europeans of divers parts, (that use to stir from their own fires) to be found amongst them; and among that great variety of people and nations there to be observed, I have taken special notice of divers Chinese and Japanese there, and those I have seen of them for the generality, are a people of no large stature, with little eyes, and noses something flattened, *de tribus Capillis*, with a few black

black hairs that stand scattered on their upper lips, which make them as handsome beards as are to be seen on our hares or cats.

There are some Jews here (as I before observed) whose stubbornness and rebellion, long ago, caused almighty God to threaten them, that they should be after sisted, and scattered among all the nations of the world. So the prophet Jeremy speaks, Jer. xxiv. 9. that God would deliver them "to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth, for their hurt, to be a reproach, and a proverb, and a taunt, and a curse, in all places whither he shall drive them." And Jer. xlii. 18. they were threatened to be made "an execration and an astonishment, &c." and so after it came to pass, for, "there is no word of the Lord that shall fall to the ground unfulfilled." And since these prophecies, that antient imprecation of their own, spoken against themselves in derision of our blessed Saviour, Mat. xxvii. 25. "his blood be on us, and on our children," follows them close all the world over, they being every where strangers, but no where beloved; though they be a people that get wealth wheresoever they come, yet this frees them not from a proverb (as was long before prophesied) of contempt and reproach.

Those antient satyrists, Persius and Juvenal, after that most horrid act committed by them in crucifying our blessed Saviour, (though not in respect to that most cruel action; for they

they were Heathens) yet they call them *Verpas*, that is, circumcised worms, vermin. Tacitus after gives them a most unfavoury epithet, calling them *fatentes Judæos*, stinking Jews. Marcus the Emperor observing them well, concluded that they were a generation of men worse than savages or canibals, to be even the worst of men, as if they were the very refuse and dregs of mankind.

How usual is that proverb, that when men are suspected to do otherwise than they should, to answer, "what, am I a Jew, that I should do so and so?" I have observed something to this purpose, from the people of East-India, who are very valiant at tongue-fights, though not so with their weapons, (as you will hear afterward) that people I say, who have a very nimble but a base quality in railing at and miscalling one another, and their language is so full and significant, that they can call a man in it two or three base things in one word; but when they come to call him whom they miscall *Judeo*, Jew, they believe (as I have been often told) that they can go no higher, esteeming that, above all other terms, the highest name of obloquy.

Yet we do believe (because the Lord hath promised it) that he will find a time to call home this people again to himself, when they shall receive honour above all the contempt they have been long under, after they shall see with sorrow, and with the eye of faith, Him whom

whom their forefathers, out of ignorance, despite, and unbelief, pierced.

For the stature of the natives of East-India, they are like us, but generally very strait, for I never observed nor heard of any crooked person amongst them. And one reason may be because they never lace nor girt in their bodies, and when they sleep, they accustom themselves to stretch out their bodies at their full length, without any thing to raise up their heads. And further, amongst many other things I took 'special notice of there, I never observed any deformed person, nor idiot, or natural fool, in those parts.

Now for the complexion of this people, they are all of them of a sad tawney, or olive colour, their hair black as a raven, very harsh, but not curled. They like not a man or woman that is very white or fair, because that (as they say) is the colour of lepers, common amongst them. Most of the Mahometans, except the Moolacs (which are the priests) or those which are very old and retired, and have (as it were) given the world quite over, keep their chins continually bare, but suffer the hair on their upper lips to grow very long, and they keep it in its natural colour by combing it continually with black lead combs, 'till they be of good years; but afterward; when time hath so snowed upon them, that they can no longer keep in nor conceal their grey hairs, they use the razor (as they did) no more,

more, but let the hair of their chins to grow long and large, which makes many grey beards amongst them, and I conceive that there are of those many old men.

And further, it is the manner of the Mahometans to shave all the hair from off their heads, reserving only one lock on the crown of them for Mahomet to pull them up to Heaven (as they fondly conceit.) The Hindoos shave their heads likewise, but cut all off, and both of them shave thus, and that very often; but however their baldness appears not at all, because their heads are continually covered with a shawl, or a wreath of narrow callico cloth many times wrapt about them, (usually for the colour white or red) which they never pull off, as we do our hats in compliments. Their much and often shaving makes many excellent barbers amongst them, who besides their scissars and razors use a little instrument about the length of a short bodkin, very sharp, made like a chisel, but not broader at the cutting end than the shank of a sixpenny nail, with which they pare and cleanse the nails on their fingers and toes. Every barber carries always about him a round looking-glass, made of steel, about the compass of a large trencher plate, made somewhat hollow, and kept by them exceeding clean and sleek, so that it will represent the face of him that beholds it on the convex side very well. These barbers, as they

they walk up and down, often present these glasses unto men whom they find sitting still, which is a tender of their service if they shall please to make use of them.

The people there often wash their bodies, and keep their feet as clean and as sweet as their hands. The better sort anoint themselves very much with sweet oils, which makes their company (as before I observed) very savoury.

The natives there (of which there is something before in my third section) shew very much ingenuity in their curious manufactures; as in their silk stuffs, which they most artificially weave, some of them very neatly mingled either with silver or gold, or both. As also in making excellent quilts of their stained cloth, or of fresh coloured taffata lined with their pintadoes, or of their sattin lined with taffata, betwixt which they put cotton wool, and work them together with silk. Those taffata or sattin quilts are excellently stitched by them, being done as evenly, and in as good order, as if they had been drawn out for them for their direction, the better to work them. They make likewise excellent carpets of their cotton wool, in fine mingled colours, some of them more than three yards broad, and of a great length. Some other richer carpets they make all of silk, so artificially mixed, as that they lively represent those flowers and figures made in them. The ground of some other
of

of their very rich carpets is silver or gold, about which are such silken flowers and figures as before I named, most excellently and orderly disposed throughout the whole work.

Their skill is likewise exquisite in making of cabinets, boxes, trunks, and standishes, curiously wrought, within and without; inlaid with elephants teeth, or mother of pearl, ebony, tortoise-shell, or wire; they make excellent cups, and other things, of agate and cornelian, and curious they are in cutting all manner of stones, diamonds as well as others.

They paint staves, or bedsteads, chests of boxes, fruit dishes, or large chargers, extremely neat, which when they be not inlaid, as before, they cover the wood, first being handsomely turned, with a thick gum, then put their paint on, most artificially made of liquid silver, or gold, or other lively colours, which they use, and after make it much more beautiful with a very clear varnish put upon it.

They are excellent at limning, and will copy out any picture they see to the life; for confirmation of which take this instance: It happened that my Lord Ambassador visiting the Mogul on a time, as he did often, he presented him with a curious neat small oval picture done to the life in England. The Mogul was much pleased with it, but told the Ambassador withal, that happily he supposed there was never a one in his country that could do so well in that curious art, and then offered

ferred to wager with him a lack of roopes (a sum which amounted to no less than 10,000l. Sterling) that in a few days he would have two copies made by that presented to him, so like, that the Ambassador should not know his own. He refused the great wager, but told the King he would adventure his judgment on it: Two copies taken from that original, were within a few days after made and brought, and laid before the Ambassador, in the presence of the King; the Ambassador viewing them long, either out of courtship to please the King, or else unable to make a difference 'twixt the pictures, being all exquisitely done, took one of them which was new made, for that which he had formerly presented, and did after profess that he did not flatter, but mistake in that choice. The truth is, that the natives of that monarchy are the best apes for imitation in the world, so full of ingenuity, that they will make any new thing by pattern, how hard soever it seem to be done; and therefore it is no marvel if the natives there make shoes, boots, cloaths, linen, bands, and cuffs, of our English fashion, which are all of them very much different from their fashions and habits, and yet make them all exceedingly neat.

They have markets, which they call bazars, to sell and buy their commodities, in all their great towns twice every day, a little before, and an hour after sun-rising in the morning, and so a little before and a little after Sun-set

at night ; the other parts of the day being too hot for those great confluences of people to meet together ; and those are the seasons we Englishmen there make use of to ride abroad and take the air, the rest of the day we usually spend in our houses. The people there sell almost all their provisions, as very many other things, by weight.

For the foreign trade of this people, it is usually once a year into the Red Sea to a city called Moha, in Arabia the happy, about thirty leagues from the mouth of it : It is a principal mart for all Indian commodities, but the staple and most principal there vended is their cotton cloth, either white or stained, and their cotton wool. Hither they come from Grand Cairo, in Egypt, as from many other parts of the Turk's dominions, to traffick. Hither they come from Prester John's country, which lies on the other side of the Arabian gulf, for so the Red Sea is there called, and not above fourteen leagues over at the city Moha.

The ship or junk, for so it is called, that usually goes from Surat to Moha, is of an exceeding great burden, some of them I believe fourteen or fifteen hundred tons, or more, but those huge vessels are very ill built, like an over-grown lighter, broad and short, but made exceeding big, on purpose to waft passengers forward and backward ; which are Mahometans, who go on purpose to visit Mahomet's sepulchre, at Medina, near Mecca,
but

but many miles beyond Moha. The passengers, and others, in that most capacious vessel, that went and returned that year I left India, (as we were credibly told) amounted to the number of seventeen hundred. Those Mahometans that have visited Mahomet's sepulchre, are after called Hoggees, or holy men.

This junk, bound from Surat to the Red Sea, as she hath many people in her, so hath she good ordnance, but those navigators know not well how to use them for their defence. She begins her voyage about the twentieth of March, and finisheth it about the end of September following. The voyage is but short, and might easily be made in less than three months, but the ship is very slow, and ill-built to abide foul weather, and in a long season of the rain, and a little before and after it, the winds upon those coasts are commonly so violent, that there is no coming but with much hazard into the Indian sea. This ship returning is usually worth (as I have heard it faithfully reported, and if my credit given to that report make me not to abuse my readers) two hundred thousand pounds sterling, and most of it brought back in good gold and silver; some fine camlets they bring with them home likewise; but that huge mass of wealth thus brought home into India, is another especial thing, and might have been added to that I spake of before towards the continual enriching of this great monarchy; where, in the next place I shall speak;

SECTION IV.

Of the Care and Skill of this People in keeping and managing their excellent good Horses. Of their Elephants, and their ordering and managing them. And how the People ride and are carried up and down from Place to Place.

THE soldiery here, and so many of the gentry and better sort of the people, who live at court, shew excellent good skill in riding and managing of their well turn'd, high metall'd choice horses, which are excellent good at mounting up, bounding and curvetting, and when they run them at their full swiftest speed will stop them at a foot's breadth; for the scantling of those creatures, they are in proportion like ours, but excellently well ey'd, headed, limbed; for their colours, there are some of them raven black, but many more of them white, curiously dappled; and a very great number pied and spotted all over, and there are some of other bright colours. But it is a usual custom there amongst gallants, who ride upon the bright coloured horses, to have their legs and lower parts of their bellies and breasts dyed into a saffron colour, of which they have much there, which makes them look as if they had stood in a dyer's vate, just up to such an height of their bodies.

The hair upon their horses, whom they keep plump and fat, is very short, soft, and lies sleek

flock upon them; and I wonder not at it, they are kept so daintily, every horse being allowed a man to dress and feed him, and to run by him when he is rode forth; and this is all his work.

They tie not down their horse-heads, when they stand still, as we do, with halters, but secure each horse with two ropes, fastened to their hind feet, which ropes are somewhat long, to be staked down behind them in tents, or other places wherein they are kept.

They cut grass for them green or withered on the earth as they have occasion to use it, never mowing their ground and making hay as we do. But that which keeps their horses in heart, and in flesh, is the provender they eat, which is a kind of round grain they call donna, somewhat bigger than our tares, which they give not unto them dry, but boiled, and mingled with some coarse sugar amongst it, and when it is cold give it them made up in round balls, which they put into their mouths as if they cram'd them; and sometimes they put a little butter into these balls to scour their bodies.

Their choice good horses are valued there at as dear, if not at a higher rate, than those we esteem most of in England are prized with us. They make excellent saddles, and some of them of great value, adorned with handsome and rich trappings, all of them very easy both for the horse and his rider. They manage

their horses with strong snaffles, whose reins and head-stalls are made suitable to their saddles and trappings.

The elephants in this vast monarchy are very numerous, and though they be the largest, and that by far, of all the creatures the earth brings forth, yet are they so tractable, unless at some times when the males are mad, (of which more afterward) as that a boy of twelve years old is able to rule the biggest of them; in which we may in a 'special manner read a comment on that truth which tells us how that the Lord hath put "the fear of man upon all the creatures here below," even upon the greatest of them as well as the least. "Thou makest him (saith David, Psal. viii. 6, 7.) to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet; all sheep and oxen, yea and the beasts of the field, &c.") Now if almighty God should let loose the creatures upon man, if he should let go those reins by which they are restrained, and suffer the creatures to renounce their obedience to man, when man throws off his yoke of obedience to God, what mischief might not those vast overgrown creatures do in those parts where there are so many of them? nay, what mischief might not any other creatures do, even the least of them, as the locust, the canker-worm, and caterpillar, &c. which are called "God's great army," Joel ii. 25. if God should give them commission

commission to put themselves in battle-array and to march forth to vex and annoy the nations of the earth?

We may read Ex. viii. how that all the power that Pharaoh and Egypt were able to make, could not guard and defend them from the incursions made upon them, and mischiefs done to them, by frogs, lice, and flies. There are spirits which are created for vengeance (saith Syracides) &c. as the teeth of wild beasts, and scorpions and serpents, punishing the wicked to destruction, they rejoice to do God's commandment, &c. If almighty God should free the creatures from their subjection, they would be able with their horns and hoofs, their fangs, teeth, beaks, claws, and stings, (which are their natural artillery) exceedingly to annoy, if not to destroy man from the face of the earth.

But for the elephants, I have began to speak of, they are very huge, vast, overgrown creatures, some of them which I have seen I esteem at the least twelve feet high, but there are amongst them, as they say, fourteen or fifteen feet in height. The colour of them all is black; their skins thick and smooth, without hair; they have full eyes, but not proportionable to their great bodies; they have ears like our oxen, but not exceeding large, and those ears edged (as it were) about with a short hair fringe; and at the end of their tails (which are slender and not very long).

there grows some hair likewise, and a little on their eye-lids, but no where else about their bodies.

The feet of the elephants, look like the trunks of small trees cut square off from their roots, round about which there are thick, short, and broad claws growing.

Some that write of them have abused the world with this tradition, that they have no joints in their legs, and therefore stand when they sleep against the trees to hold them up, which is all very false, for they lie down and arise again at their pleasure, as other beasts do.

Their motion is not swift, a walking rather than a pace, about three miles at the most an hour; but of all beasts that carry burdens, they are most sure of foot, for they never fall, nor yet tumble to endanger their rider.

They are most docile creatures, and of all those we account merely sensible come nearest unto reason.

Lipsius, in his *Epistles*, Cent. 1. *Epist.* 50. out of his observation from others, writes more of them than I can confirm, or any, I persuade myself, believe; yet many things most remarkable, which seem indeed to be acts of reason rather than sense, I have observed in them; for instance, an elephant will do any thing his keeper commands him; as if he bid him to affright a man, he will make towards him as if he meant to tread him into pieces, but when he is come at him do
him

hath no hurt at all; so if he would have him to abuse or to disgrace a man, he will take dirt or dust, or kennel-water, into his trunk, and dash it on his face.

Their trunks are grilly snouts of a great length, hanging down betwixt their long teeth, which teeth nature hath given them for their defence, otherwise they are of little use to them. In their trunks they have such marvellous strength, that by them they can do very much mischief; for if they strike a horse or camel, or any other the like beast with them, (as sometimes they do when they are mad) they will so break their bones, as that they will spoil, nay kill them at one blow, and much more a man if he chance to come in their way.

Those trunks of the elephants are to them as an hand by which they feed themselves, and make great use of them otherwise upon all occasions, for with those trunks they tear off boughs from trees, by winding them about them, and after, with them, put boughs into their mouths, and eat the tenderest parts of them. With these they pull up green corn (if they be suffered) and grafs by the roots, and then against their legs beat off the earth and dust that hangs about them, before they eat thereof. Thus they deal with sedge or weeds which they find in the water, first walking off the dirt which hangs on the roots thereof, and then down they go into their vast bellies.

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The elephants delight much to bathe themselves in water, in which, when they find depth enough, they swim as well as any other creatures.

I observed before, that the male elephants when they grow lusty are sometimes mad for their females, but in a few days come again in temper; before which time they are so mischievous, that they will strike any thing, but their keepers, that comes in their way; and their strength is such (as before I observ'd) that there is no blow they give which lights either upon men or beasts, but carries death with it. At those times, to prevent mischief, they are kept apart from company, fettered with strong chains unto trees; but if by chance in their phrenzy they get loose, (as sometimes they do) they will make after every thing they see stir, in which case they have no means to stop them in their violent course but by firing of crackers made of gun-powder, whose sparkling and noise makes them to stand still and tremble. When those creatures are in that mad distemper, they sweat much, which makes their savour exceeding rank and filthy, like that ill smell of a boar when he is fattig in his sty, but by much more strong, and more offensive than that.

An English merchant there, of good credit, upon his own knowledge, reported this thing which follows, and is very observable, of an elephant in Asmere, (the place then of
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the Mogul's residence) who being brought often through the Bazar, or market-place, a woman who usually sat there to sell herbs, was wont to give this great elephant a handful, as he many times passed by; this elephant after, being mad, brake his fetters, and took his way through that Bazar; the people being all of them much affrighted, made haste to secure themselves by getting out of his way, amongst whom was this herb-woman, who, for fear and haste, forgot her little child which she had brought thither; the elephant came to the place where this woman usually sat, stoppt, and seeing a little child lying there about her herbs, took it up gently with his trunk, not doing it the least harm, and presently after laid it down upon the stall of a house that was hard by; and then proceeded on in his furious course. Acoſta, a Jesuit, relates the like of an elephant in Goa, from his own experience.

The elephant, though he be vast and terrible, yea and cruel too, when he is set to do mischief, or when he is mad, yet otherwise is a tame gentle creature, so that the dread of this huge beast most appears to the eyes. But notwithstanding his terribleness, I once there saw a creature compared with an elephant, not much bigger than a small fish compared with a whale, boldly to encounter one of them. The occasion by which this so came to pass offers itself thus; that year I went for East-India,

India, the merchants here (as from the King of England, in whose name they sent all their presents) amongst many other things, then sent the Mogul some great English mastiffs, and some large Irish grey-hounds, in all to the number of eight, dispersed in our several ships; one of those high-spirited mastiffs in our voyage thither, upon a day seeing a great shoal or company of porpoises, before described, mounting up above the waves, and coming toward that ship wherein he was, suddenly leapt overboard to encounter with them, before any did take notice of that fierce creature, to prevent that engagement, wherein he was irrecoverably lost, the ship then having such a fresh gale of wind, that she could not suddenly slack her course, whereby that poor creature might have been preserved. Another, one of the Irish grey-hounds, had his head shot off in our sight. The mangle was the destruction of four more of them, only two of the mastiffs came alive to East-India, and they were carried up, each of them drawn in a little coach, when I went up to the Ambassador, that he might present them to the Mogul. The fiercest of these two, in our way thither, upon a time breaking loose, fell upon a very large elephant that was hard by us, fastening his teeth in the elephant's trunk, and kept his hold there a good while, which made that huge beast extremely to roar; and though the elephant did swing the mastiff up and
down

down above ground many time (as not feeling his weight) that he might throw him off; yet he could not suddenly do it, but at last freeing himself from the dog, by throwing him a good space from him, there came a mungrel cur of that country towards our mastiff, who then left that his most unequal match, fell upon that dog and kill'd him, by which means we recovered our mastiff again into our custody, he not having received any apparent hurts; by which we may see how much courage and mettle there is in those right fierce mastiffs.

This story pleased the Mogul very much when the dogs were presented to him, and he allowed each of them four attendants of those natives to wait upon them, who by turns two and two carried them up and down with him in palankens, after described, to which they were tied, and the other two went by them, fanning the flies from off them; and the King caused a pair of silver tongs to be made on purpose, that with them when he pleased he might feed these dogs with his own hand.— But this story by the way.

The Mogul hath many of his great elephants train'd up for the war, who carry each of them one iron gun, about five feet long, lying upon a strong frame of wood, made square; that is fitted to a thick broad pannel fastened about him, with very strong and broad girths or girts. The gun like an harquebush hath a
piece

piece of iron like a musket-rest fastened on the sides thereof, made loose to play up and down. The bottom of that iron rest so fixed is long, to be let through that frame of wood on the fore-side, and so to be keyed in at the bottom. At the four corners of this frame are small flags of silk, with sundry devices painted on them, put upon little neat coloured staves; upon the neck of the elephant sits a man to guide him, and within the frame a gunner, to make his shot as he finds occasion. The piece thus mounted carries a bullet about the bigness of a tennis-ball.

Some elephants the King keeps for the execution of malefactors; the manner how follows in section 23. And some he keeps to carry himself and women; and some elephants are kept for state, of which more when I shall come to speak more particularly of the Great Mogul. Other elephants are there employed for the carrying of burdens, their strength being so great that they will bear a marvellous weight.

The elephants are all governed with a small rod of steel about half a yard long, made sharp on the lower end, and towards that end there is a hook returned, like a fish-hook, that is very sharp likewise, by which their riders sitting on their necks pull them back or prick them forward at their pleasure.

These vast creatures, though the country be exceeding fruitful, and all provisions in it cheap.

cheap, yet by reason of their huge bulk, if they be well kept and fed, are very chargeable in keeping; they are kept usually under the shade of great trees, where by a strong chain of iron upon one of their hind legs they fasten them. And as they stand, the abundance of flies vex them, and therefore with their fore feet they make dust, (the ground usually being very dry) and with their trunks cast the dust about their bodies to drive away those flies from them.

The King allows every one of those great male elephants four females, which in their language they call their wives. These brutes, as they say, will not endure any to behold them when they are coupling together; which may condemn many who call themselves men and women, but have so lost all modesty, that "they are not ashamed when they commit any act of filthiness, no they are not ashamed, neither can they blush." The female elephants, as they further say, carry their young one whole year e're they bring them forth, thirty years expire e're they come to their full growth, and they fulfil the accustomed age of men e're they die. And lastly, notwithstanding the great number there of those vast creatures, and the excessive charge in keeping them well, they value them at exceeding high rates.

For this people, when as they journey from place to place, the men of the inferior sort go all on foot, their women that cannot so travel
ride

ride on little oxen, inured to carry burdens, or on asses, which carry their little children with them; the women like the men astride. Others that are of better quality ride on horses, mules, camels, dromedaries, or else in light coaches with two wheels, covered on the top and back end, but the fore part and sides open, unless they carry women. These coaches will carry four persons beside the driver, but two may lie at ease, and at length in them, upon quilts, that lie in the body of them, upheld by girt-web, with which they are bottom'd, which makes them by far more easy. These coaches are covered for men of quality, with something that is costly; much of our English broad-cloth, that is dyed red, is there bought from us, and employed for that use. At the back end of this coach they have a long round bolster, that reacheth both sides, stuffed with cotton wool, and covered with velvet or sattin, or with some other thing that is rich. These coaches are drawn by oxen, one yoke to a coach, some of which oxen have their short horns neatly tipped with silver plate, and some others with brass; and they have each of them a fine collar of large round bells, some of them made of silver. They are paired and suited as our coach horses for stature and colour; most of them thus employed are white, and some pyed or spotted all over with several colours. They are guided with small cords, which go through the parting of their nostrils, and is
 'twixt

'twixt their horns into the coachman's hand, who by these restrains them when, and guides them how he pleaseth; and when he would have them go on, pricks them forward with a small and short staff he keeps in his hand pointed like a goad. These oxen there are very neatly made, slender, strait limb'd, and not very large, but naturally very nimble, and by daily use made so fit to perform that labour, (being kept well shod) as that they go twenty miles a day, and more, with good speed. They keep these oxen for this service, as their horses, well dressed, and so well fed, that they be plump and fat, and consequently very handsome to behold.

The men there of the greatest rank and quality, ride sometimes in those coaches, and sometimes on their curious horses, and sometimes on their brave elephants; but however they are carried, they have their horses, which wait upon them when they go abroad, that they may bestride them when they please. And at other times they ride on mens shoulders in a slight thing they call a palankee, made somewhat like a couch or standing pallat, covered with a canopy, wherein a man may lie at his full length, as many of those grandees do, when they are removed from place to place, giving themselves up to ease, and over unto those sins which follow it; and while they are thus carried, they make the shoulders and joints of those that feel their heavy weight to

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bow

bow and buckle under their burdens. This, as it should seem, was an ancient, but a base effeminacy, sometimes used in Rome. Juvenal, in his first satire, describing a fat lawyer thus carried.

*Causidici, nova cum veniāt Lectica, Matronis,
Plena ipso.*—

*Matbo the pleader comes in his new chair,
Fill'd with himself, when he takes the air.*

It had been well if such carriages as these had been never heard of but in then heathen Rome, or amongst poor blinded Indians; but *Vae nobis miseris ad quos Paganorum vicia transferunt*; Woe to us wretched people of this nation, unto whom the vices of Pagans are derived. It was a curse that the old Cretans were wont to wish might fall upon their greatest enemies, that they might fall in love with evil customs. This doubtless is one amongst many more, fallen upon us of this nation, when some, not out of necessity, but choice, make other men their pack-horses, to ride upon them; a thing, as I conceive of it, most unworthy of a man, as he is a man, so to do.

I am no leveller, I hate the thought of it, as a wild fancy, and phrenzy that is most destructive; knowing that there is an absolute necessity amongst men of superiority and subordination, where some must command and others obey. A head alone, without inferior members,

members, is a monster, not a body. Yet however, I would have all those who are masters and superiors so to demean themselves towards their underlings and servants, in all things, as "always remembering that they have a master in Heaven, with whom there is no respect of persons." Eph. vi. 9.

For men, let them exalt themselves never so high, if they will not for the present learn, they shall one day be made to know, that there are higher than they. All great ones therefore, who overlook those of low degree, believing themselves taller than all of them by head and shoulders, had need of such a daily remembrance as Symonides was to Pausanias; or that page to Philip King of Macedon, who, by that King's special commandment, was to cry every morning in his ears, *Μνημονεύειν ἀνδραπόδων* Remember, O King, that thou art a Man. I say, very many have need of such remembrancers, (who exalt themselves too much above others) to tell them that they are but men. *Homo sum, humanum à me nil alienum puto.* And being but men, should do nothing but what well becomes humanity. Therefore, though many which are very poor, who to gain bread are content to submit themselves unto any low conditions; yet others (twixt whom and them nothing so much as an inequality of estate makes the main difference) should not thus employ them; if not for the man's, yet for his manhood sake; not put such a vast dif-

tance, such a main difference betwixt others and themselves, made of the very self-same mould, and happily more graciously beheld by that invisible eye than themselves are, before whom they must first or last all appear, and that upon equal terms.

But I shall here digress no further, but return again to that people (I mean those of quality amongst them) who out of pride, or idleness, or both, are thus carried up and down, or by some other means I named before, tho' they remove never so little way from one place to another, accounting it very dishonourable for them to go on foot. And so much of this. I shall now proceed, (having made mention of their huge multitudes of horses and elephants; &c. to take notice,

S E C T I O N VII.

Of their numerous Armies; their Ammunition for War; how they lade themselves with Weapons; how terrible they appear; yet how pusillanimous, and low-spirited they are.

WHERE first, for their numerous armies, it will appear to be no strange thing, if we consider the Great Mogul to be what he is, an over-grown Prince, (as before described) in the vast extent of his large territories; being like a huge pike in a great pond,

pond, that preys upon all his neighbours, who therefore purchase and keep his favour by very great presents given him by way of homage, and a submissive acknowledgement of his mighty power. And besides, the Mogul is master of an unknown treasure, having silver, as 'tis written of Solomon, 1 Kings, x. 27. like stones in the streets; and certainly in far greater abundance than ever Solomon had. Though I must tell my reader, that all metals there are not silver and gold, nor all stones precious. Now he that can command what treasure he will, may likewise command what men he please, as the Mogul doth, besides his own people. Many Persians and Tartars (before spoken of) very valiant men, who serve him as soldiers on horseback, and so the major part by far, whether natives or strangers, are mounted for his service in his wars.

Hence it is that the armies there consist of incredible multitudes; they talk of some which have exceeded that mighty "host which Zerah, King of Ethiopia brought against King Asa," 2 Chron. xiv. 9, but they not having well learned that horrid bloody art of war, as the Europeans have, and wanting commanders and other officers to manage their great companies, are not so skilful to destroy, as otherwise they might be: It is a phrase most properly and fitly applied unto savage, absurd, brutish, and unreasonable man, to the enemies of God and his church, by the prophet Eze-

kiel, xxi. 31. where Almighty God threatens "that he will deliver them into the hands of brutish men, skilful to destroy."

The weapons they use in war are bows and arrows, swords and bucklers, short lances, having excellent good steel heads, and short pieces like unto carbines; besides those carried upon elephants (before described) some footmen in their wars carry those lesser guns, with bows and arrows, swords and bucklers, and they are excellent marksmen. They make good gun-powder for their own use, and fire their guns with match or touch-wood. Their swords are made crooked like falchions, and are very sharp, but for want of skill in those that temper them, will easily break, but not bend. And therefore we sell at good rates our English sword-blades that will bow, and become strait again. They have (and they say that for many generations past they have had) great ordnance, though they seldom make use of them in their wars.

Their warlike musick are some kettle-drums carried on horseback, with long wind instruments, which make not musick, but noise so harsh, and unpleasing, that it is enough to fright away their enemies.

They say, that in their military engagements, they make at the first very furious onsets, which are too violent long to continue, for the scale soon decides the controversy, when that side which happens first to be worsted and
to

to be put into disorder; knows better to run than to rally again.

There are some of the Mogul's own subjects which are men of courage; those of note among the Mahometans are called Baloches, inhabiting Haiacan, adjoining unto the kingdom of Persia, (spoken of before) and there are others called Patahs, taking their denomination from a province of that name in the kingdom of Bengala. These will look an enemy boldly in the face, and maintain with their lives their reputation and valour. Amongst the many sects of Hindoes, or Gentiles, (after spoken of) which are subject to this King, there is but one race of fighters, called Rasha-boots, a number of which live by spoil, who in troops surprize poor passengers, for the most part murdering those whom they get under their power. These excepted, the rest of the Mogul's natives, for the generality of them, had rather eat than quarrel, and rather quarrel than fight. I say quarrel, for I have several times observed there, that when two of them have been both well armed, and have most shamefully abused one another, in baser language than I can express, yet durst not draw their weapons; in conclusion, when one of them hath caught the other by the throat, and forced him up against some wall, the sufferer would cry out piteously, and the standers by would admire the other for his valour, saying Shâ-Abas; a proverbial speech amongst them relating to the late King of Persia, called

Sha-Abas, a prince much renowned for valour, and when any man did a thing they thought gallantly, they cried Sha-Abas, as much as to say, it was done as well as the Persian King could have done it.

Yet, however the people here in general are cowardly, they appear men of very terrible aspects, having great long mustachoes upon their upper lips, their chins continually kept bare by the razor, which makes them all to look like the pictures of our old Britons; or like those our rude painters daub upon cloths and call them the nine worthies. And further, to make them the more formidable, they will appear on horseback as if they were surrounded with an armory, or carrying a whole armory about them; thus appointed: At their left sides swords hanging on belts, under them sheaves of many arrows; on their left shoulders broad bucklers fastened, and upon their backs small guns like to carbines fixed likewise; at their right sides bows hanging in cases, and lances (about two yards and a half long) hanging in loops near their stirrups, (when they carry them not in their hands) yet for all this harness, the most of them are like those Ephraimites, Psal. lxxviii. 9. "who being armed, and carrying bows, turned their heads in the day of battle." For they dare not look a man of courage in the face, though they be thus fortified, with such variety of weapons for their defence. Nay a man of resolution will
beat

beat one of these out of all his weapons, with a small stick or cane. So that I shall do the natives of that country no wrong, if I say of them, that they are *Solâ libidine fortes*, most strong and valiant in their base lusts, and not otherwise.

The base cowardise of which people, hath made the great Mogul sometimes to use this proverb, that one Portuguese would beat three of his people ; and (because the English there have many times prevailed much at sea against those Portuguese) he would further add, that one Englishman would beat three Portuguese.

The truth is, that the Portuguese, especially those which are born in those Indian colonies, most of them a mix'd seed begotten upon those natives, are a very low poor spirited people, called therefore *Gallinas dell Mar*, the hens of the sea.

One notable instance to prove this ; it happened that the East-India company had a very little pinnace, they called the Coaster, which they kept in those parts for discoveries ; she was mann'd but with ten men, and had only one small murdering-piece within her. She upon a time met with a Portuguese ship, going then towards Ormus, which had one hundred and thirty men aboard her, and guns answerable to her burden, and company : Our petty pinnace came up with her, discharged her murdering-piece, which slew one of her chief officers ; upon which, without any further

their resistance, she presently struck her sails and yielded. Our English presently commanded her gunners, and some other of her chief officers, to come aboard them, which immediately they did, and there kept them bound, 'till they had taken what they pleased out of their ship, and then let them go; being most deservedly used in that their suffering, they being thirteen to one, and yet such beasts they were, as that they durst not make any resistance.

But take some stories of valiant Portuguese before I leave them; and these you shall have from some of that nation themselves, whom we not seldom met in India, and would there beg relief of us; but I never knew any come to us upon those terms, but his pride would excuse his poverty thus; that he was challenged into the field, and there in single combat had fairly slain a man; how that he durst not return again any more into the Portuguese colonies, for fear of the law, and it was that which put him at present into that sad exigent to ask relief; and this was their usual plea there, when in truth and indeed we did believe them to be such pitiful wretches, or men of such a strange resolution as that (as it was written of one called Pisander) they would be made to fear their own shadows.

However, upon this account there came upon a time, at my first coming into India, unto the factory at Surat, where I then was, a most
valiant

valiant Portuguese, (if you will give him leave to tell his own story, and believe it when he hath done) who first for his person was a *quintan, tantan, tantillus*, a very poor, little dwarfish man, whose person promised as little valour as any that I ever saw, though I know that high courage is not ty'd to a huge bulk; for (if stories abuse us not) Alexander the great was but a little man; but whatever Alexander was, I am sure that this was a poor little thing, but however he told us that he was by birth an Hidalgo, which signifies in Spanish the son of somebody, or no ordinary man; but a gentleman of Spain, and that he came from thence as a companion to the King of Spain's Viceroy, sent to Goa, and himself was called the Knight with the Golden Rapier; and that suddenly after his coming to Goa he was honourably invited into the field, there to fight at single combat, with a very gallant man of that place, but he soon left him there dead; and having done so, the Viceroy presented him with a pardon for that fact before he asked it; but willing him wishall, now he had been sufficiently try'd, to confine his rapier to its scabbard. But he told us further, that he could not long after live quietly there, but was provoked again by a man of high resolution, unto a second encounter, when he had the like success as before, in killing his adversary. The Viceroy now was very angry with him, but upon much intreaty, as he said, pardoned

pardoned him a second time ; upon the receipt of which favour, he told us that he was then resolved to throw away his rapier, to get into a religious house, and there to remain the residue of his days a *Convertado*, or Penitent ; but the Viceroy could not be long without his company, and therefore to gain it restored him again into his former favour : But for himself he was still so unhappy, (the fame of his great valour being spread abroad) as that he could not long enjoy that peace and quiet which he now so much desired, but received a third challenge from a very gallant and very valiant man, as he describ'd him, a man big enough to beat a Goliath ; and then he further told us, that his honour was ever more dear unto him than his life, and therefore notwithstanding the loss of the Viceroy's favour, and what else might happen, he entered the lists with him, and though he found him the stoutest adversary that ever he opposed, yet after a long conflict this little Knight killed that great Giant, and left him there dead likewise ; which done, he (not daring to return any more unto Goa) told us, that he came naked out of the field as we then saw him, with no ornaments (I assure you) about him, fit to make him a Viceroy's companion, nor any weapon fit to dub him Knight of the Golden Rapier. He further added that he was now resolved not to live any longer amongst the Christians, but that he desired to live amongst the English ; but when

we

we replied that we were Christians, he cried, *Jesu Maria!* as wondering at it, and further told us, that he never heard so before.

When this Rhodomantadist had ended his perilous story, it was dinner time, and the merchants bid him to sit down with us and eat, and so he did; where certainly he laid about him more valiantly than ever he had done before in the field, giving our meat many a cut, and eating as if he had been more than half starved. He continued with us there for some few days, and after, when his hunger was well satisfied, and his spirits well refreshed, he began to take some exception against his place at the table, because he eat at the lower end thereof, saying, that the company there were but factors servants; but he was a gentleman, and therefore his due place was higher at the board; but then corrected himself, saying, that it was not to be much considered where he sat, for his place made the upper end of the table wherever it was placed; and suddenly after, this Don Quixote being weary of his stay with us, (though he was but too well used) and having a great mind to ramble farther, told our company, that he being an Hidalgo, it was very dishonourable for him to take entertainment upon the terms he had it, and therefore desired us to make a little purse for him, on which he would live as long as he could, and then creep into some desert place, and there repent and die. And now our great guest ha-
ving

ving spent all his hamour, and told us all his dream, had his desire granted in some money that was given to him, and so we parted with our Knight-Errant, who lived longer than he told us he would live, for half a year after I took notice of him at the Mogul's court, and there I leave him.

I will now relate a story of another of this nation, (and I do believe as good a gentleman as himself) who called himself Antonio de la Valla. It happened that a little before our coming thence, my Lord Ambassador going from his own house to dine at the English factory in Surat, and I waiting on him, there appeared then to us a walking skeleton, most miserably cleathed, the poorest and leanest creature that ever mine eyes beheld, who faintly begged of him some relief, telling (what was true) that he was almost quite starv'd; the Ambassador pitied and relieved him, and as we returned back found this poor creature eating with so much greediness, as if he could not have been satisfied. He was then willed to come to our house, and he did so, and there was fed and heartened up again, and then when he was come to himself, told us, that he had endured there abundance of misery, which, as he acknowledged, did most justly befall him, because he had there renounced his religion, and become a Mahometan, which when he had done, no care was taken of him there, (for they regard not a man that will not be constant

constant in his religion, believing that if that bond cannot tye him, nothing will.) He told us further, that he was very sorry for what he had done, and desired a passage for England, which was granted him; and he was put unto me as my servant, and therefore I fitted him with cloaths, &c. fit for his return; but afterward (we being at sea) he would often curse and ban, and cry out, *O mal ventura!* O his hard hap! and that of all the miseries which he had endured, this was the greatest, that he an Hidalgo, a gentleman of Spain, should live to become a servant, and which was worse, to serve a Heretick. I would, when I heard of this of him (for he spake not so to me) tell him of it, and further mind him of that most sad condition in which we found him, how that he had starv'd to death, if our pity, in the relief he found from us, had not even then prevented it. He would reply, that he knew not what he said; telling me that his many miseries had turned his brains. Not to bestow any more ink and paper on him, we brought him afterward to Plymouth; and immediately after our arrival there, he desired his liberty, which was very easily granted him; and from thence (having some money given him more than he deserved) took his course whither I cannot tell, neither will my reader desire to know. And therefore I will return again, as swift as meditation or thought can carry me, unto East-India, where I shall in the next place speak,

SECTION

SECTION VIII.

Of our safe and secure living amongst the Natives there, if we do not provoke them. Of their Faithfulness unto those that entertain them as Servants; for how little they serve, and yet how diligent they are, &c.

WHERE first for our living in East-India, it is with as much freedom and safety in our journies, and tents, when we travel, in our houses when we are fix'd, as if we were in an army of banners appointed for our guard; or as if the vines and fig-trees under which we there sit were our own.

But there are spoilers sometimes met withal, in those provinces, that live by their swords and bows, having nothing for their subsistence (because they will take no other course) but what they get by rapine and spoil; of whom somewhat more afterward.

And now by the way for those villains who thus live, wherever they be, and those sturdy rogues who are next to them in guilt, by eating up the bread of the poor, having able limbs to carry them, that they may beg from house to house, and hands to receive alms, but none to labour; both these being the very vermin of the commonwealths wherein they are suffered to breath, it were very well if such of these as have not deserved to be cut off
by

by the hand of justice, were all served as Philip King of Macedon dealt with two rogues, *alterum e Macedonto fugere, alterum persequi iussit*; he made one of them to whip the other out of his country, and so he was rid of both of them.

But to return unto the place from whence I am now digressed, I travelled from Surat with four Englishmen more, and about twenty of the natives in our company, we beginning our journey the first of January towards Sir Thomas Row, at the Mogul's court, then above four hundred miles distant from Surat. We had six waggons drawn with oxen, in our company, laden with rich English goods (the principal part whereof was English broad cloth) assign'd to an English merchant at the court, and some other carriages we had, of all which we made a ring every night near to some large town or village, where we resolved to stay, and pitched our tents within that circle, some of us watching, and the natives with us, every night. We went on that long journey very safely; only, in some places, where there was any suspicion of danger, we had a guard of horse appointed to go with us for our defence, by the command, of Sultan Caroon, then Prince, and now King: (who had his reve nue out of those parts we then travelled through) who sent a footman, that continually kept us company, with his letters to command a company of soldiers, that were horse-

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men,

men, to guard us where we thought good, who as they did not expect, so they would take no recompence for their pains, though we freely offered it them. But the providence of God did so order it, that though we had their company in several places, we never had need of their help for our defence. The truth is, that the people there in general are very civil, and we never had any affronts or ill usage from them, if we did not first provoke them.

But if we did, they would not well bear it, for twice in one week, at my first coming to Surat, the whole town in general were in an uproar, and surrounded our house there; both times some of our English provoked those natives to stir against us, but by our speedy addresses unto the governor of that place, we excusing the fault of those that ministred the occasion of their discontent, they being newly comethither, and altogether unacquainted with their customs, he presently commanded that wild assembly to depart from our house, and so immediately they did, we receiving no hurt at all from any of them.

When my Lord Ambassador at first arrived at Surat, it so was, that an English cook he carried with him, the very first day of his coming thither, found a way to an Armenian Christian's house, who sold wine in that place, they call Armenian wine. But (by the way) I do believe there was scarce another in that populous city of that trade; the greater shame for those

those, whoſoever they be, that ſuffer ſo many unneceſſary tipling houſes, (in the places where they have power to reſtrain them) which are the Devil's nursery, the very tents wherein Satan dwells, where almighty God receives a bandance of diſhonour; drunkenneſs being a ſin which hath hands and fingers to draw all other ſins unto it; for a drunkard can do any thing, or be any thing but good. That Armenian wine I ſpeak of is made of raiſons of the ſun and ſugar, with ſome other things put and boiled in water; which wine, when it is ripe and clear, is in colour like to our Muſcadelſ, pleaſant enough to the taſte, but heavy and heady. The cook had his head quickly over-freighted with it, and then staggering homeward, in his way met the governor's brother of Surat, as he was riding to his houſe; the cook made a ſtand, ſtaying himſelf up upon his ſword and ſcabbard, and cry'd out to the governor's brother, *Now thou beaten dog*. He not underſtanding his foul language, reply'd civilly in his own, *Ca-ca-ta*, which ſignifies what ſay'ſt thou? the cook answered him with his ſword and ſcabbard, with which he ſtruck at him, but was immediately ſeized on by his followers, and by them diſarmed and carried to priſon; the Ambaſſador had preſent intelligence of the miſbehaviour of his drunken ſervant, and immediately ſent word unto the governor's brother, that he was not come thither to patroniſe any diſorderly perſon, and

therefore desir'd him to do with him what he pleas'd; upon which he presently sent him home, not doing him the least hurt. But before I leave this story, it will not be amiss to enquire who was the *Heathen dog* at this time; whether the debauch'd drunken cook, who call'd himself a Christian; or that sober and temperate Mahometan who was thus affronted.

In our journey towards the court, (after we had been in our way about seven days from Surat) we rested at a place called Disat, where many of the inhabitants offered to guard us and our goods, though we (observing there was no danger) desired it not, but they would do it, and in the morning expected and asked something of us by way of recompence. One of our company (who had been in *East-India* a year or two before) told them, that what they had done they did without our desire, and therefore they should have nothing from us, but some ill language; which he then gave them. We set forward in the morning; according to our wonted custom; they followed after us, to the number at the least of three hundred men, (for the place was great and populous) and when we were gone about a mile from that town, stopped our carriages; he of our company who told them they should have no recompence, was presently ready to shoot at them with his musket, which made them all to bend their bows at us; but I happily and suddenly stepping in, prevented his firing

firing at them, and they shooting at us; which if I had not by God's good providence done, but we had madly engaged such a great multitude, there could not have been less expected in the sad issue thereof, than the loss of all our lives, and goods; but having a little parly with them, for the value of three shillings of English money given amongst them, they were all quieted and contented, and immediately left us, wishing us a good journey.

After this, when we had gone forward about twenty days journey, (which daily removes were but short, by reason of our heavy carriages, and the heat of the weather) it happened that another of our company, a young gentleman about twenty years old, the brother of a baron of England, behaved himself so ill as that we feared it would have brought very much mischief on us.

This young man being very unruly at home, and so many others that have been well born, when their friends knew not what to do with them, have been sent to East-India, that so they might make their own graves in the sea, in their passage thither, or else have graves made for them on the Indian shore, when they come there: A very cleanly conveyance (but how just and honest I leave to others) for parents to be rid of their unruly children; but I never knew any who were thus supposed to be sent thither, but they outlived that voyage.

For the young gentleman I speak of, his employment was to wait upon our chief com-

mander in his cabin, who very courteously when he came to sea turn'd him before the mast amongst the common sailors, (a great preferment for a man of his birth) but for all this, he outliv'd that harsh usuage, and came safely to East-India; and my Lord Ambassador hearing of him, and being well acquainted with his great kindred, sent for him up to the court, and there entertain'd him as a companion for a year, then giving him all fit accommodations, sent him home again as a passenger for England, where after he safely arrived.

But in our way towards that court, it thus happened, that this hot-brains being a little behind us, commanded him then near him, who was the prince's servant, before spoken of, to hold his horse; the man reply'd, that he was none of his servant, and would not do it. Upon which this most intemperate mad youth, who was like Philocles that angry poet, and therefore called *bilis* & *salsigo*, choler and brine, for he was the most hasty and cholerick young man that ever I knew, as will appear by his present carriage, which was thus; first he beat that stranger, for refusing to hold his horse, with his horse-whip, which I must tell you that people cannot endure, as if those whips stung worse than scorpions; for of any punishments that carry most disgrace in them, as that people think, one is to be beaten with that whip wherewith they strike their beasts; the other to be beaten (and this they

they esteem the more disgraceful punishment of the two) about the head with shoes. But this stranger (being whipt as before) came up and complained to me; but to make him amends, that frantick young man (mad with rage, and he knew not wherefore) presently followed him, and being come up close to him, discharged his pistol laden with a brace of bullets directly at his body; which bullets, by the 'special guidance of the hand of God, so flew, that they did the poor man no great hurt; only one of them, first tearing his coat, bruised all the knuckles of his left hand, and the other broke his bow which he carried in the same hand. We presently disarmed our young bedlam, 'till he might return again to his wits. But our greatest business was how to pacify the other man, whom he had thus injured: I presently gave him a roopee, in our money two shillings and nine-pence; he thanked me for it, and would have taken it with his right hand, but I desired him to take it with his maim'd one, and so he did, and could clinch it very well, which I was glad of. Then we did shew (as we had cause) all the dislike we could against that desperate act of him from whom he received his hurt, telling him that we were all strangers, and for our parts had done him no wrong at all, and therefore hoped that we should not be made any way to suffer for the faults of another; and we further told him, that if he would be quiet

'till we came up to the court, he should have all the satisfaction he could desire. He told us that we were good men, and had done him no wrong, and that he would 'till then rest contented; but he did not so, for about two hours after we met with a great man of that country, having a mighty train with him, as all the grandees there have when they travel (of whom more hereafter.) He presently went towards him, that to him he might make his complaint; and so he did, telling him that he was the prince's servant, why he came to us, and how he had been used by us, shewing him his hand and his other breaches. The great man said, that it was not well done of us, but he did nothing to do with it, and so departed away. That night, after we came to a new town, and placing ourselves on the walls, he did what he could (as we imagined) to raise up that people against us, some of them coming about us to view us, as we conceived; but putting on the best confidence we could, and standing then upon our guard, and all of us watching that night, but in a special manner, by the good providence of God, who kept us in all our journey, we here felt none of that mischief we feared; but early in the morning quietly departed without the least molestation. After which, with a little money, and a great many good words, we so quieted this man, that we never after heard any more complaining from him. So that, as
I be-

I before observed, we were not at any time in any dangers of suffering by that people, but some of our own nation were the procuring causes of it.

For the people there, they are generally very civil, and usually keep themselves so within the bounds of command received from their superiors, over which they do not pass, as that they are not apt to take fire, and to throw off their yolk, that they might do mischief; they happily considering, that as in a natural, so in a body politic, there must be hands and feet, as well as heads and shoulders, all parts as well as any, the defect of the least being so prejudicial to both those bodies, that they know not how to want it; but for both, when they are fitted with all their integral parts, all members must do their several offices; the foot not meddling with the business of the head, further than to receive commands from it. And therefore that precept of the Apostle, Ephes. 6. 5. "Servants be obedient unto them that are your masters, according to the flesh, &c." though they never learned it from St. Paul, yet having found that lesson clearly written even in the law of nature, with all carefulness they remember, and with all diligence they practise it, as well knowing the absolute necessity of superiority and inferiority amongst men, that some must give, others must take command; for were it not for those cords to lead some, and to hamper and restrain others, there

there were no living for men amongst men, but one would destroy another, as the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and fishes of the sea do; were it not for those ligaments and ties, the very sinews and nerves of every kingdom and commonwealth would crack a-funder, and all would run into confusion.

I have often heard it observed of the Welsh, that they are *Optimi servi*, but *Pessimi Domini*, ill masters, but good servants. I shall not further enquire into the truth of that proverbial speech; but, for this people, this I can affirm, that they are excellent servants, who are as much at the command of their masters, as the people of Israel, after the death of Moses, were unto Joshua, Josh. i. 17. there telling him, "all that thou commandest us we will do, or whithersoever thou sendest us we will go;" or, as the Centurion's servant in the gospel were at the word of command to their Captain, Matth. viii. 9. who, "if he bade them go, they went, if come, they came, if do this or that, they did it:" So these, if they be commanded to carry letters of a sudden many miles distant from one place to another, they yield obedience in this, as to all other the commands of their masters, without regret or dispute, not objecting against, but doing the wills of those that employ them.

Before I observed, that for the generality of this people they have very low and timorous spirits, but there are some I named in my last section,

section, who are stout daring men, as the Baloches, Patans, and Rasthbootes, who, as they have the honour above all the rest of the people in those large provinces to be accounted valiant; so, as occasion is offered, they will shew themselves so to be; and therefore they are much hired as convoys, to secure men's persons and goods from place to place.

For those provinces, they are not without mountains of prey, and tabernacles of robbers, as David and Job speak, where desperate men keep in some woods and deserts, which are not far from great road ways, most frequented and used, and there, like the wild Arabs, in companies meet, and spoil and destroy poor passengers, when they expect them not; it being the cursed manner of those spoilers, if they prevail against them whom they surprize, to kill them before they rifle them; and therefore the first thing heard from them is, *mor, mor, mor*, that is, kill, kill, kill, which they all speak out as loud as they can. We were often told of them as we travelled sometimes in the night, by reason of the extreme heat of the day, after we had taken leave of the King, and so were journeying towards Surat, that we should meet with those cruel villains; but through God's mercy we were never in danger of them but once, and that was about midnight, near a large city called Brodera; but we being a competent number of Englishmen together, about twenty, and all of us resolved

resolv'd to sell our lives at as dear a rate as we could, and having twice so many Indian servants with us, which are very nimble with their bows and arrows, we with our pistols and carbines, which we presently discharged amongst them, and our Indians plying them with their arrows, made them suddenly to retreat, we receiving little hurt from them, but after this we made no more night marches,

Those Indians I named before, are so faithful to their trusts unto whomsoever they engage, to the English as well as any other, that if they be at any time assaulted, they will rather die in their defence, than forsake them in their need. So that I am very confident, that if an English merchant should travel alone with a very great treasure in gold and jewels, both or either, from Surat to Lahor, which is more than one thousand English miles, and take those Indian servants only for his company and guard, and they all knew what he carried with him, he paying them their wages, they would be so far from injuring him of the least penny of his wealth, that whosoever besides should attempt his spoiling must make a way through their blood before they should be able to do it.

Here is a great and good example of faithfulness, and it is very true. But I much doubt, that if a great Indian merchant, a native of that country, should come for England with the like treasure, with a desire to pass through this whole nation, and should for his more safe passage

they take a guard of sword-men here; and pay them well for their service, they might lie under such a strong temptation, as might make them to spoil the Egyptian, by shortening his journey; dividing his substance; and by disposing so of his person, that it should never tell tales.

But for that people, as their faithfulness is very remarkable, so is their diligence very exemplary likewise; for they keep continually within the call of their masters; and will not at any time depart thence without special leave. And the plenty of all provisions being very great throughout the whole monarchy, they serve at very low rates, which I never knew them to raise, not requiring more than five shillings sterling every new moon; paid the next day after its change; which is all the recompence they desire or expect from their masters, to provide themselves with all necessaries.

*quibus hinc toga; Calceus hinc est;
Et panis, fuitque Domi. . . Jdv. Sat. 1.*

*Their coat, their shoes, their bread, their fire,
And all besides, bought with this hire.*

And for this they do as good service as if they had ten times as much wages.

They stand to be hired in the Bazat, or market-place; an ancient custom, as may appear Matth. xx. 3. where some of them may be at all times had.

But

But it is their manner, when they are hired to receive advance money, that is, one month's pay before hand, and to have their pay thus in hand every month so long as they serve, and so honest they are, that if they be bidden to provide themselves of other masters, they will serve out the time for which they have received pay, to an hour, before they depart.

Now these who are so exact in performing their duty, by their faithfulness and diligence, must be exactly paid their salary at the time they expect it, otherwise they will be ready to quit their service, as one of them whom we thus hired left us as we were travelling up to the court, the reason, because our money was almost quite gone, (though we were supplied again a day or two after) and we could not punctually pay him at his day, as we had formerly done. This fellow led one of our camels, and had been with us two months before, but upon this little failing him, would needs leave us; but before he departed, he made a speech to his camel, telling him, that he had fed him thus long, and had during that time lived by him, but now our money (as he supposed) quite failing, he told him that he must be gone, desiring God to bless him, and that he might have some other to lead him that might not be less careful of him than he had been. So he took leave of his camel, though not of us, and departed. All the rest of the company were persuaded to continue with us, and

and had their pay a day or two after; and so we proceeded on our journey, and so shall I further in this discourse. And now I have spoken something of the people, I shall speak,

SECTION IX.

Of their Buildings in Villages, Towns, and Cities. How their Houses are furnished. Of their Sarraes or Houses for the Entertainment of Passengers. Of their Tanks, Wells, and of their Places of Pleasure, &c.

I Observed before, the richness of their soil, and how those provinces are watered by many goodly rivers, fed with abundance of Springs, and how their fields are cloathed with very much plenty of corn of divers kinds, sold there at such low rates, that every one may there eat bread without scarceness.

Now I come to take notice of their buildings; and here I must tell my reader, that this people are not much taken or infected with that plague of building (as the Italians call it) wishing the love of it as a curse to possess the thoughts of them they most hate; and therefore, as the stones in India are not all precious, so the houses there are not all palaces; the poor there cannot erect for their dwellings fair piles, and the grandees do not cover their heads under such curious roofs, as many of
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the Europeans do; the reason, first, because all the great men there live a great part of the year, (in which their months are more temperate, as from the middle of September to the midst of April) in tents, pavilions, or moveable habitations, which, according to their fancies, they remove from place to place, changing their air as often as they please. And secondly, because all the great men there have their pensions and whole subsistence from the King, which they hold upon very fickle and uncertain terms; for as they are settled upon and continued unto them by the King's favour, so are they forfeited and lost by his frown. Of which more afterward.

Yet though they make not much use of them, they have in plenty excellent good materials for building, as timber, bricks, stone, and marble, of divers kinds and colours, of which I have seen some very good vaults and arches, wellwrought, as in their mosques or churches, so in some of their high erected tombs, (of which more afterward) and so in some other places likewise.

For their buildings in cities and towns, there are some of them handsome, others fair, such as are inhabited by merchants, and none of them very despicable.

They build their houses low, not above two stories, and many of their tops flat and thick, which keep off the violence of the heat, and those flat tops, supported with strong timber,
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and coated over with a plaster, (like that we call plaster of Paris) keep them dry in the times of the rains.

Those broad terrasses, or flat roofs, some of them lofty, are places where many people may stand (and so they often do) early in the morning, and in the evening late, like camellions, to draw and drink in fresh air; and they are made after this fashion, for prospect, as well as pleasure.

After this manner (as it appears in the sacred story) the Jews were wont to build; for "David from the roof of his house (2 Sam. xi. 2.) espies an object, &c." such a one, as if God had not been very merciful, was sufficient to have undone him for ever; as they write of the basilisk, that it kills by sight.

By the way, let me here add, that David's eyes thus wandered to fetch home a temptation, immediately after he had risen from the bed of idleness and ease; for while he was employed in business, he was innocent and safe. The industrious have not such leisure to sin, as the idle have, who have neither leisure, nor power to avoid it. Exercise, as it is wholesome for the body, even so for the soul. The remission whereof breeds diseases in both.

David from the roof of his house sees Bathsheba, when probably she saw not him; lust is quick-sighted. David had no sooner seen that object, but his eyes presently betray, and

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recoil upon his heart; smiting it with sinful desires; which made him to covet her, and presently to send for her that he might enjoy her.

That which David here did, (and afterwards grievously repents for so doing) shall one day be the woful song of many a wretched soul; as the lascivious man's song, the covetous man's song, the song of thieves, idolaters, gluttons, drunkards, as of others, I saw, I covered, I took; for all these receive their death, by their eye.

There Bathsheba was washing herself from her uncleanness, and presently after in an adulterous bed became more unclean than ever she was before; never was Bathsheba more foul than when she was newly washed, the worst of nature being cleanliness to the best of sin. But I proceed.

Those houses of two stories have many of them very large upper rooms, which have many double doors in the sides of them, like those in our balconies, to open and let in fresh air, which is likewise conveyed in unto them by many lesser lights made in the walls of those rooms, which are always free and open; the use of glass windows, or any other shuttings, being not known there, nor in any other very hot countries.

Neither have they any chimnies in their buildings, because they never make any use of fire but to dress their food, which fire they make against some firm wall, or without their
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tents against some bank of earth, as remote as may be from the places where they use to keep, that they may receive no annoyance from the heat thereof.

It is their manner in many places to plant about and amongst their buildings, trees which grow high and broad, the shadow whereof keeps their houses by far more cool; this I observed in a special manner when we were ready to enter Amadavar; for it appeared to us as if we had been entering a wood, rather than a city. Amadavar is a very large and populous city, entered by many fair gates, girt about with a high and thick wall of brick, which mounts above the tops of their houses, without which wall there are no suburbs. Most of the houses within the city are of brick, and very many of them ridged and covered with tiles.

But for their houses in their Aldeas, or villages, which stand very thick in that country, they are generally very poor and base. All those country dwellings are set up close together, for I never observed any house there to stand singly and alone. Some of their houses in those villages are made with earthen walls, mingled with straw, set up immediately after their rains, and having a long season after to dry them thoroughly, stand firm, and so continue; they are built low, and many of them flat; but for the generality of those country villages, the cottages in them are miserably

poor, little, and base; so that as they are built with a very little charge, set up with sticks rather than timber, if they chance to fire, (as many times they do) for a very little they may be re-edified.

Those who inhabit the country villages, are called Coolees; these till the ground, and breed up cattle, and other things for provision, as hens, &c. These plant the sugar, cotton, wool, indigo, &c. Their trades and manufactures are kept in cities and towns, about which are their choicest fruits planted; without their dwellings there, but fixed to them, are pent-houses, where they shew and sell their provisions, as bread, and flour cakes made up with sugar, fruits, and other things, and there they shew their manufactures, and other commodities, some of which they carry twice every day to sell in the bazar or market.

I saw two houses of the Mogul's, one at Mandoa, the other at Amadavar, which appeared large and stately, built of excellent stone, well squared and put together, each of them taking up a large compass of ground; but we could never see how they were contrived within, because there are none admitted, strangers or others, to have a sight of those houses, while the King's wives and women are there, which must not be seen by any but by himself, and his servants the eunuchs.

The Mogul's palace royal is at Agra, his metropolis, (of which more afterward) but for the present, I shall take a little notice of

a very curious grot I saw belonging to his house at Mandoa, which stood a small distance from it, for the building of which there was a way made into a firm rock, which shewed itself on the side of a hill, canopied over with part of that rock. It was a place that had much beauty in it, by reason of the curious workmanship bestowed on it; and much pleasure, by reason of its coolness.

That city Mandoa, I speak of, is situated upon a very high mountain, the top whereof is flat, plain, and spacious. From all parts that lie about it, except one, the ascent is very high, and steep; and the way to us seemed exceeding long, for we were two whole days climbing up the hill with our carriages, which we got up with very much difficulty; not far from the bottom of which hill, we lodged at a great town called Anchabar-pore, where we ferried over a broad river, (as we did in other places) for I observed no bridges made there over any of their rivers where their highways lie. That hill on which Mandoa stands, is stuck round (as it were) with fair trees, that keep their distance so, one from and below the other, that there is much delight in beholding them, either from the bottom or top of that hill.

In those vast and far extended woods, there are lions, tigers, and other beasts of prey, and many wild elephants. We lay one night in that wood with our carriages, and those lions came about us, discovering themselves by

their roaring, but we keeping a very good fire all night, they came not near enough to hurt either ourselves or cattle; those cruel beasts are night-walkers, for in the day they appear not.

After (when through God's most gracious assistance) we had overcome those difficulties, and dangers, we came into a plain and even country, in which travelling a few days more, we first met with my Lord Ambassador, marching towards Mandoa with that great King, with whom I then settled, and continued with him 'till he was returned home.

We were in our journey to the court from the beginning of January 'till the end of March, we resting a while at Brampore, which is a very spacious and populous city, where we had a factory. And after that, we were violently detained in our journey by Sultan Caroon, the Prince, whom we met in his march towards Brampore, and a very marvellous great retinue with him. The reason why he interrupted us in our course was, that he might see the presents we had for his father, the King; but we having command from the Ambassador to tell him, that we durst not open them, 'till we came to the King, we most humbly craved his pardon to spare us in that; so presenting him with a pair of rich gloves, (though they be things they wear not in those hot countries) and a rich embroidered bag for perfume (which amongst many other things of the like kind were

were brought from England to be given away for presents) after that he had carried us back three days journey, he let us go, taking further order for our safe conveyance.

And now reader, thou may'st suppose us almost settled in Mandoa, the place then of the Mogul's residence, not much inhabited before we came thither, having more ruins by far about it, than standing houses. But amongst the piles of building that had held up their heads above ruin, there were not a few unfrequented mosques, or Mahometan churches; yet I observed, that tho' the people who attended the King there, were marvelously frightened for room, wherein they might dispose of very great numbers of most excellent horses, which were now at that place, they would not make stables of any of those churches, though before that time they had been forsaken, and out of use.

One of those deserted mosques, with some large tomb near it, both vaulted over head, (which shall be after described) were the best places there to be gotten for my Lord Ambassador and his company to lodge and be in, we carrying our bedding, and all things appertaining thereto, all necessaries belonging to our kitchen, and every thing beside for bodily use, from place to place, as we occasionally removed. Here we stayed with the Mogul, from the middle of April, 'till the twentieth of September following, and then began our

progreſs with him towards the city of Amadavar.

Our abiding place at Mandoa was very near one of the ſides of that vaſt wilderneſs, out of which ſome of thoſe wild beaſts often times in the night came about our habitation, and ſeldom returned back without a ſheep, a goat, or a kid, ſome of which we always kept about us for our proviſion. And it was a wonderful great mercy thoſe furious, ravening, and hunger-bit creatures, did not make their prey ſometimes, in the dark and ſilent nights, while we were ſleeping, on ſome of our bodies, the fore part of our dwelling ſtanding upon pillars, and there was nothing in thoſe open diſtances that had any ſtrength in it to keep them from us.

One night, early in the evening, there was a great lion, which we ſaw, came into our yard, (though our yard was compaſſed about with a ſtone wall that was not low); and my Lord Ambaſſador having a little white neat ſtock, that ran out barking at him, the lion preſently ſnapt him up, leapt again over the wall, and away he went.

But for a ravening and a roaring lion, as I believe, he cannot be made tame when he is old; yet certainly he may be bred tame, being kept full, and high fed: For the Mogul, at my being there, had a very great lion I often ſaw, which went up and down amongſt the people who frequented his court gently as a dog,

dog, and never did hurt, only he had some keepers which did continually wait upon him.

For those wild and cruel beasts, one of our Englishmen watching in a tree by night, (that stood not far from our dwelling) with a fire-lock charged with some small bullets, shot a tiger, and kill'd him stone dead, as he was coming towards us. It was a large beast, higher than an Irish grey-hound, with grizzled hair, a long head, and sharp and short picked ears, having a mouth filled with cruel teeth; after which (we usually keeping a little fire without our house every night) were not so much troubled with those night-walkers.

Now to return to that from which I am occasionally digressed. I told you before what their buildings are. And now for the furniture that the greatest men have in them, 'tis *curta supellex*, very little, they being not beautified with hangings, nor with any thing besides to line their walls; but where they are best adorned, they are kept very white, and set off with a little neat painting, and nothing else; for they have no chairs, stools, couches, tables, nor beds enclosed with canopies or curtains, in any of their rooms. And the truth is, that if they had them, the extreme heat there would forbid the use of many of them; all their bravery is upon their floors, all which are made even with fine earth, or plaster, on which they spread their most excellent carpets in their tents, as well as in their

their dwelling-houses, laying some coarse thing under to preserve them; on which they sit as taylors on their shop-boards, when they meet together, putting off their shoes, (which they usually wear as slippers, and their feet bare in them) when they come to tread on those soft pavements, and keeping them off 'till they remove thence; this helps to keep cold their feet, and is very pleasant in those hot countries. On those carpets they sleep in the night time, or else upon a hard quilt, or lying upon a slight and low bedstead they call a cot, bottomed with broad girt web, made of cotton wool. But wherever they lie, they stretch themselves out at their full length when they go to sleep, usually upon their backs, without any pillow or bolster, to raise up their heads. Very many of the meaner sort of people (as I have often observed) lie thus stretched out to take their rest upon the ground, in the dry season of the year, with a white callico cloth spread all over them, which makes them appear like so many dead corpses laid forth for burial. This lying so even, and at length, with their bodies thus extended, may be one reason why the people there are all so strait limb'd, having none crooked amongst them; and another, because they never girt nor lace in their bodies, as was before observed. Some of those slight bedsteads they call cots, in their standing houses hang
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by ropes, a little above ground, which are fasten'd to the four corners thereof, moved gently up and down by their servants, to lull them asleep.

They have no inns in those parts for the entertainment of strangers, but in some great towns large houses they call *Sarraes*, very substantially built with brick or stone, where any passengers may find house-room, and use it without any recompence; but there is nothing to be had besides room, all other things they must provide and bring with them, as when they lodge in tents.

Amongst their buildings, I must take special notice of their wells and tanks, upon both which in very many places they bestow exceeding much cost in stone work. For their wells which are fed with springs, they make them round, but very wide and large. They are wrought up with firm stones, laid in fine plaster; they usually cover those wells with a building over head, and with oxen draw water out of them, which riseth up in many small buckets, whereof some are always going down, others continually coming up, and emptying themselves in troughs, or little rills, made to receive and convey the water whither they please.

Their tanks are made in low places, and many of them very deep and large, one mile, and some of them much more, in compass,
made

made round or four square, or in more squares, about which there is a low stone wall, that hath many doors in it, and within that wall, steps, made one below the other, round about it, that go down to the bottom thereof, (which is paved likewise) those steps are made of well squared, lasting stone, laid firm and even in very good order, for people that have not plenty of water otherwise to go down and take it. These great receptacles of water are made near places that are very populous, fill'd when that long season of rain; before spoken of, comes, immediately before which time they cleanse them, that the water may be more clear and wholesome. They hold water all the dry season of the year.

For their places of pleasure, they are in their groves, where their curious fruit trees (before described) grow, but especially in their gardens, wherein they plant little vineyards, that afford marvellous fair and sweet grapes, which they cut green, for their eating, or make raisins of them. But for wine, they make none, because their Mahomet forbids the drinking thereof. In those gardens they have many pomegranate-trees, with all the choicest fruits and flowers their country affords; to which nature daily yields such a supply, as that there is beauty to be seen in those trees and plants, and that continually. In the middle of those gardens, they have such wells, as before described, the tops
whereof

whereof stand a good deal higher than the planted ground, which lies even and flat below them, from whence water is conveyed in narrow open passages (they not knowing the use of leaden pipes) to all the parts of them, in the dry season of the year. In those gardens likewise they have little round tanks to bathe in, whose sides and bottoms are made firm and smooth with that plaster before named; they are fill'd by aquaducts from those wells, and they can empty them when they please, as well as fill them. The water that is conveyed into those small tanks, usually runs down broad stone tables, that have many hollows made in them, like to scollop-shells, which water in its passage makes such a pretty murmur, as helps to tie their senses with the bonds of sleep, in the hot seasons of the day, when they constantly keep their houses, and then they lie down near them on their carpets, to be lull'd asleep. Those bathing places are within, or very near their garden houses, which usually are by far more neat, than any other of their dwelling.

In such a garden house, with all those accommodations about it, my Lord Ambassador lay with his company at Surat, the last three months before he left East-India.

And further, in those hot seasons of the day, the people of better quality lying or sitting on their carpets or pallats, have servants standing about them, who continually beat the
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the air upon them with flabellas, or fans, of stiffened leather, which keep off the flies from annoying them, and cool them as they lie. Thus taking their ease, they call for barbers, who very gently gripe their arms and shoulders, and other parts they can in any measure grasp, and they strike likewise very softly those parts with the sides of their hands; it is very pleasing as they do it, and causeth their blood to stir in their veins; it is therefore very much used in those parts, to such as do not heat their blood by bodily motion.

For their pastimes within doors, they have cards, but much different from ours in the figures made in them, and in their greater number of suits. Those cards I have often seen, and have been more often told that they have very good skill in that most innocent and ingenious game we call chess.

They delight themselves sometimes with the company of mountebanks and jugglers; for their mountebanks, they keep venomous snakes in baskets, and will suffer themselves to be bitten or stung by them; which part thus bitten, or stung, presently swells, and immediately after that they cure themselves again by oils and powders, which they apply unto the place, and then offer to sell them unto the people standing by.

Their jugglers are the cunningest that ever I saw, to do strange things by sight of hand; as in this trick I shall here name; where I have
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directed them to lay down scuttles or broad open wicker baskets upon the ground, three or four one upon another, all of which appeared empty, as they laid them down; but taking them up again, one after the other, in the bottom of them would appear three or four living turtle doves; which they would cover again with the same scuttles, and tossing and turning them as they took them off, and up the second time, none of these pretty creatures were to be seen any more. But how they first conveyed them thither, and how after thence, we could not possibly discover.

For their pastimes abroad, they have hawks of divers kinds, greater and less, and partridges and other choice fowl great store to fly at. They have hares and antelopes, with other wild beasts to hunt, and those not a few. Their dogs for chase are made somewhat like our grey-hounds, but much less, who never open in the pursuit of the game. They hunt likewise with leopards, train'd up and made fit for their sports, who by leaping seize on what they pursue; but by reason of the heat of the country, those sports are not there much used. The Mogul when he hunts carries hawks and dogs, and all things beside with him, to make him pastime, that if one sport fail, he may be pleas'd with another.

They say, that they have a curious device to take wild fowls that use the water, into which

which a fellow goes with a fowl of that kind he desires to catch, whose skin is stuffed so artificially, as that with a noise he counterfeits of that fowl, it appears to be alive ; the man keeps all his body but head under water, on which he fastens that counterfeit fowl to stand foreright on the top thereof ; and thus coming amongst them, he plucks them (as they say) by their legs under water at his pleasure. But this I have only by tradition.

For other pastimes abroad, this I am sure of, that when the weather is more temperate, they shoot much in their bows, and are very excellent marksmen, somewhat like those left-handed men spoken of Judg. xx. 16. And with their guns in which they shoot single bullets, (for they have not the use of small shot) they are somewhat long in taking their aim, but they will come very near the mark.

Others delight themselves very much in managing their excellent horses ; but so shall I not delight my reader, if I dwell too long in particulars. And therefore having spoken of their buildings, I shall now invite him, though not to eat or taste, yet to take notice,

SECTION

SECTION X.

Of their Diet, their Cookery in dressing it, &c.

AN D though this country affords very much variety of excellent good provisions; yet the Mahometans feed not freely on any flesh: But on that which is strange and forbidden of the Hindooes diet I shall speak afterwards; but for the Mahometans, they are a people, as I conceive, not much given to their palate, but are very careful of, and temperate in their diet, as having learn'd by experience, that full bellies do more oppress than strengthen the body; that too much of the creature doth not comfort, but destroy nature; it being a try'd truth, that gluttony reacheth, and kills those whom the sword cannot touch. All diseases of the body, for the most part, being contracted to it by surfeits; in one kind or other, and therefore they keep themselves to a thin diet, and eat not to pamper and please their appetite, but to satisfy and support nature, which is contented with a little every where, but with less in hot countries, where mens digestion of food is not so quick and good; this being further a tried truth, that those bodies are most strong, active, and healthy, which are most temperate.

Therefore, although they have abundance of flesh and fowl, and have fish too, yet are they temperate in all of them. For swine's flesh, it is an abomination unto the Mahometans, and therefore they touch it not. And for other kind of flesh, they eat very little of them alone, to make their full meals of them, for they dress no kind of flesh in great pieces, or whole joints, nor scarce any of their fowls whole,

For boiling of flesh in water, or baking or roasting any flesh, are pieces of cookery (if I observed well) they know not, but they stew all their flesh, as their kid and other venison, &c. cut into suppers, slices, or little parts, to which they put onions, herbs, roots, and ginger, (which they take there green out of the earth) and other spices, together with some butter, which ingredients when they are well proportioned, make a food that is exceedingly pleasing to all palates, at their first tasting thereof most savoury meat; happily that very dish which Jacob made for his father Isaac, when he got the blessing, Gen. 27.

With their flesh and herbs, &c. they sometimes stew hens and other fowl cut in pieces, which is like that the Spaniards call an *Olivo*, but more toothsome.

But their common standing dish there is rice, which they boil with more art than we; for they boil the grain so as that it is full, plump, and tender, but not broken in boiling; they

they put to it a little green ginger, pepper, and butter, and this is the ordinary way of their dressing it, and so 'tis very good.

Sometimes they boil pieces of flesh, or hens, and other fowl, cut in pieces in their rice, which dish they call pillaw; as they order it, they make it a very excellent, and a very well-tasted food.

Once my Lord Ambassador had an entertainment there by Asaph Chan, who invited him to dinner (and this was the only respect in that kind he ever had, while he was in East-India.) That Asaph Chan was a man made by his great alliances the greatest subject and favourite in all that empire; for his sister was the Mogul's most beloved wife, and his daughter was married unto Sultan Caroon the Prince, and very much beloved by him. But of all these, more afterward.

The Asaph Chan entertained my Lord Ambassador in a very spacious and a very beautiful tent, where none of his followers besides myself saw or tasted of that entertainment.

That tent was kept full of a very pleasant perfume; in which scents the King and grandees there take very much delight. The floor of the tent was first covered all over with very rich and large carpets, which were covered again in the places where our dinner stood with other good carpets, made of stitched leather, to preserve them which were richer; and these were covered again with pure white

and fine callico cloths; and all these covered with very many dishes of silver; but for the greater part of those silver dishes, they are not larger than our largest trencher-plate, the brims of all of them gilt.

We sat in that large room as it were in a triangle; the Ambassador on Asaph Chan's right hand, a good distance from him; and myself below; all of us on the ground, as they there all do when they eat, with our faces looking each to the other, and every one of us had his several mess. The Ambassador had more dishes by ten, and I less by ten, than our entertainer had; yet for my part I had fifty dishes. They were all set before us at once, and little paths left betwixt them, that our entertainer's servants (for only they waited) might come and reach them to us one after another, and so they did; so that I tasted of all set before me, and of most did but taste, though all of them tasted very well.

Now of the provision itself; for our larger dishes, they were filled with rice, dressed as before described; and this rice was presented to us, some of it white, in its own proper colour, some of it made yellow with saffron, some of it was made green, and some of it put into a purple colour; but by what ingredient I know not; but this I am sure, that it all tasted very well: And with rice thus ordered, several of our dishes were furnished; and very many more of them with flesh of several kinds,
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and with hens and other sorts of fowl cut in pieces, as before I observed in their Indian cookery.

To these we had many jellies and culices; rice ground to flour, then boiled, and after sweeten'd with sugar-candy and rose-water, to be eaten cold. The flour of rice, mingled with sweet almonds, made as small as they could, and with some of the most fleshy parts of hens, stewed with it, and after, the flesh so beaten into pieces, that it could not be discerned, all made sweet with rose-water and sugar-candy, and scented with Ambergrease; this was another of our dishes, and a most luscious one, which the Portuguese call *mangee real*, food for a King. Many other dishes we had, made up in cakes, of several forms, of the finest of the wheat flour, mingled with almonds and sugar-candy, whereof some were scented, and some not. To these potatoes excellently well dressed; and to them divers sallads of the curious fruits of that country, some preserved in sugar, and others raw; and to these many roots candied, almonds blanched, raisons of the sun, prunellas, and I know not what, of all enough to make up the number of dishes before named; and with these *quelque chose* was that entertainment made up.

And it was better a great deal, than if it had consisted of full and heaped up dishes, such as are sometimes amongst us provided for great and profuse entertainments. Our bread

was of very good excellent wheat, made up very white and light, in round cakes; and for our drink, some of it was brew'd, for ought I know, ever since Noah's flood, that good innocent water, being all the drink there commonly used, (as before) and in those hot climates (it being better digested there than in other parts) it is very sweet, and allays thirst better than any other liquor can, and therefore better pleaseth, and agreeth better with every man that comes and lives there, than any other drink.

At this entertainment we sat long, and much longer than we could with ease cross-legged; but all considered, our feast in that place was better than Apicius, that famous Epicure of Rome, with all his witty gluttony (for so Paterculus calls it, *ingeniosa gula*) could have made with all provisions had from the earth, air, and sea.

My Lord Ambassador observed not that uneasy way of sitting at his meat, but in his own house had tables and chairs, &c. he was served altogether in plate, and had an English and an Indian cook to dress his diet, which was very plentiful and cheap likewise; so that by reason of the great variety of provisions there, his weekly account for his house-keeping came but to little.

The meaner sort of people there eat rice boiled with green ginger and a little pepper, after which they put butter into it, which is their

their principal dish, and but seldom eaten by them; but their ordinary food is not made of the flour of wheat, but of a coarse well tasted grain, made up in round broad and thick cakes, which they bake upon their thin iron plates, (before spoken of) which they carry with them when they travel from place to place; when they have bak'd those cakes, they put a little butter on them, and doubtless the poor people find this a very hearty food, for they who live most upon it, are as strong as they could be if they had their diet out of the King's Kitchen. I shall here say no more of this, but proceed to speak,

SECTION XI.

Of the Civilities of this People; of their Compliments, and of their Habits.

AND here the people in general (as before was observed) are as civil to strangers as they are to their own countrymen; for they use when they meet one another, or when they meet strangers, to bow their heads, or to lay their right hands on their breasts, and to bow their bodies as they pass, saluting their farther with many well-wishes.

They use not to uncover their heads at all, as we do in our salutes, (from which custom of ours, the Turks borrow this imprecation

for their enemies, wishing their souls no more rest after death than a Christian's hat hath, which is always stirred) but the meaner sort, instead of uncovering their heads to their superiors, use these abject ceremonies, by putting their right hand to the earth, and then laying it on their head; or by falling down on their knees, and then bowing their heads to the earth; both signifying, that those unto whom they shew these reverences and respects, may tread or trample on them if they pleased.

When we visit the people there of better quality, they entertain us with much humanity; first rising up to us they bow their bodies, and then intreat us to sit with them on their carpets, where they are free in their discourse, which we usually exchange with them by an interpreter. If we have any business with them, they return very civil and fair answers; and for our further entertainment give us beetle or paune to chew, before spoken of.

In their near and more close and hearty salutes, they do not join hands as we, but do that which is hateful to the Spaniard, and not at all in use with us; for they take one another by the chin, or beard, and cry *bobba*, which is father, or *bi*, which is brother; and this appears to be a very ancient compliment, for thus Joab long ago saluted Amasa, 2 Sam. xx. 9. but this they do in love, not as Joab did there, in treachery.

In their compliments they express many
good

good wishes to one another; as *Salam Allacum*, God give you health; the reply, *Allacum Salam*, the same health God give you, And *Greb-a-Nemoas*, I wish you the prayers of the poor. And *Tere gree gree kee Bulla doore*, which made English speaks thus, "I wish one good to come unto you after another every *Gra*" (which is a space of time a little more than a quarter of an hour.) And they have many more compliments like these, handsome and significant. As inferior people (who have their dependance on others) use to say unto them, "I eat your bread and salt;" as much as to say, I am your servant, I live by you, and you may do with me, or to me, what you please.

Now as this people of East-India are civil in their speeches, so are they civilly clad, for there are none who wear their own skin alone for their covering, as very many in the western India do.

For the habits of this people, from the highest to the lowest, they are all made of the same fashion, which they never alter nor change; their coats fitting close to their bodies unto their wastes, then hanging down loose a little below their knees, the lower part of them sitting somewhat full; those close coats are fastened unto both their shoulders, with slips made of the same cloth, which for the generality are all made of coarser or finer white callico; and in like manner are they fastened

fastened to their waist, on both sides thereof, which coats coming double over their breasts, are fastened by like slips of cloth, that are put thick from their left arm-holes to their middles. The sleeves of those coats are made long, and somewhat close to their arms, that they may ruffle, especially from their elbows to their wrists. Under this coat they usually wear another slight one, made of the same cloth, but shorter than the other, and this is all they commonly wear upon the upper part of their bodies. But some of the greater sort, in the cooler seasons of the day there, will slip on loose coats over the other, made either of quilted silk or callico, or of our English scarlet broad cloth, for that is the colour they most love. Under their coats they have long breeches, like unto Irish trowsers, made wholly of the same cloth, which come to their ankles, and ruffle on the small of their legs. For their feet, they keep them (as was before observed) always bare in their shoes.

Some of their grandees make their coats and breeches of striped taffata of several colours, or of some other silk stuff of the same colour, or of slight cloth of silver or gold, all made in that country. But pure white and fine callico lawn (which they there make likewise) is for the most part the height of all their bravery; the collars and some parts of their upper coats being set off with some neat stitching.

Upon

Upon their heads they wear a long wreath of cloth, about half a yard broad, usually white, but sometimes of other colours. Which cloth worn for their head covering, is sometimes interwoven in spaces with threads of coloured silk, or silver, or gold; and when not so, one end of the wreath of cloth worn by gallants is usually thus interwoven, and so put upon their heads, that its gayness may appear. This head-covering of theirs they call a *shash*, which incircles their heads many times, and doth marvellously defend them from the violence of the sun. And because this covering must needs keep their heads hot, they provide for this as well as they can, by shaving the hair continually from off them. And they have girdles made of the same wreaths of cloth for the better fort, thus interwoven, which come twice at least about them, made very trim with that kind of weaving, especially on both ends, which hang down direct before them.

And thus have I presented a Mahometan there in his proper dress; whose habit will more visibly appear together in the Mogul's picture, portray'd and after put into this discourse.

Now for the Mahometan women. Because I had never sight of those of the greatest quality, I cannot give such an account of them in respect of their habits; for these, unless they be dishonest, or poor, come not abroad; but

but for the fashion of their garments, they do not differ much from those the men wear, for they wear coats and breeches one very like the other, only women bind their long hair with fillets, which hang down behind them. They wear likewise upon their heads mantles or veils, (usually made of white callico, or of their pintadoes) which hang down over their other garments. Further, the women have their ears bored, not only in their flaps, but round about them, wherein they wear very large pendants; those of the richer sort are made of flat, narrow, and thin pieces of gold or silver; those worn by the poorer sort, made of brass, or iron kept bright; so that all are in the same fashion; they bestow some work upon the edges and ends of those pendants. And those women have the lower part of their left nostrils pierced, wherein they wear a ring (when they please) of gold or silver, or of some other baser metals. Those rings of gold have little pearls fastened to one end, and that pearl is drill'd through, that both ends of the ring may meet in it. And doubtless, the women of the greatest quality (though I saw it not) are bedeck'd with many rich jewels. This I have observed in some of those of the better sort I there saw, that they did wear great broad hollow rings of gold enamell'd; and some made of silver or brass, upon their wrists, and upon the small of their legs, to take off and on; two or three of them
upon

upon each arm and leg, which make a tinkling noise; very probably such ornaments as the Jewish women were threatened for, Isa. iii. where Almighty God tells them, "that he would take away their tinkling ornaments about their feet, the bracelets, and the ornaments of their legs, their rings, and nose-jewels."

For my Lord Ambassador, and his company, we all kept to our English habits, made as light and cool as possibly we could have them. His waiters in red taffata cloaks, guarded with green taffata, which they always wore when they went abroad with him, myself in a long black cassock; and the colours and fashion of our garments were so different from theirs, that we needed not, wheresoever we were, to invite spectators to take notice of us.

And now, the constancy there observed by the natives of both sexes, in keeping to their old fashions in their habits, exampled to them by their predecessors in many foregoing generations, and by them still continued, is the great praise of this people, as the commendation of every nation in the world almost, besides ours, still constant to their ancient fashions in their apparel.

The consideration of this might shame and make us to blush at it (if we were people whom shame in this case could take); shame I say, and condemn too, the lightness and wantonness, the want of sober-mindedness, and inconstancy

constancy of our people here in this case, who most justly deserve, even for this very thing, to be made bare and naked, because they are never long pleased, scarce at all contented with the fashion of that they wear for their covering, continually varying and multiplying their vanities, expressed by their habits. So that what the prophet Hosea 5. 5. speaks of Israel, may be apply'd to England, "that the pride thereof doth testify to its face."

It is an observation in heraldry, that the richer the coat is, the fewer are the colours in it. But whatsoever many gallants of these times bear in their scutcheons, I am sure they want no colours in their cloathing, as if they were created Knights of the Sun, and engaged to wear about them every colour in the rainbow.

Unto what a shameful and unjustifiable length is the hair of very many grown to, fatter to be measured by a carpenter's rule, than by a comb, when mens hair hangs about their shoulders like manes on the necks of horses. A wild and strange fashion never taken up 'till these very late times, (almost in the memory of children) which puts such strange disguises upon many, that when it first took its rise here in this nation, if then a man had met a few of them (who now thus bury and lose their heads in their hair) he would then have conceived that he had met with furies, rather than men. Since which time that evil custom
hath

hath so prevailed amongst us, as if the commonness thereof was a sufficient excuse for its indecency,

And (by the way) I should be exceeding glad, if I could exempt and wholly separate from their company, all those whose business it is to be the teachers and instructors of others, yet in this particular deserve that blame which gives very much offence unto many of those who are sober minded. "Thou which teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?" saith the Apostle, Rom. ii. 21. the very words of which scripture burn out against them who do not labour to live up unto every rule they prescribe to others: who dare, without blushing, to do that themselves, which they are bound to reprove in others.

If these would but consider, how much gravity there is required in a Minister of the Gospel, and look but a little with other mens eyes, they would presently see a long hair (I had almost said a shagpole) to become a pulpit so ill, that they would never presume to ascend that place again in that shameful disguise.

I might hereunto add the many trickings and trimmings of some likewise which appear in that place, very much unbecoming the gravity of their profession; in which respect the decency and comeliness which hath appeared in others, in those particulars I named, may be a strong witness against them: in others, who have

have been thought fit to be removed from their places, and to be thereby laid aside; in others, who have made room for those, either by their death, or otherwise. Now those great indecencies (as I apprehend them) are faults, whatsoever is said in their justification, which, as former times could not parallel them, so the times present cannot excuse them.

But for others whom before I named, rather than they will not come up unto this height of vanity, they make the hair of women, which before was dead, to live again, as it were, upon their heads; concerning whom, if you put that question in the Prophet Jerem. xviii. 13. “and ask among the Heathen, who hath heard or done such things?” It will be answered, none there, none of them; yet this unnatural sin makes many amongst us even to pride themselves in this their shame; “for doth not nature itself teach, that if a man wear long hair, it is a shame unto him.” 1 Cor. xi. 14.

And for the other sex amongst us, they are so carried on by the foot of pride, as they come never a whit behind; of whom there are too many, when God hath bestowed on them a very large portion of outward feature and beauty, more than upon many others, it is very strange that those, not yet content with his most excellent workmanship, should go about to amend it, as they think, by spending many precious hours to varnish a little rottenness, spotting and painting themselves, as if
beauty

beauty could be increased by deformities; thus presenting themselves to the view of others, as if they had received many scars and wounds, &c. so they have by the rod of pride (to take those words in a borrowed sense) which they cover with their black patches.

For outward beauty, without doubt, it is an excellent gift of God, and so to be esteemed; but when the soul answers not the face, in not being beautiful like it, it leads to a curse; and experience teacheth us, that many of the foulest souls in this respect dwell fairest. There are no two things help to people Hell more, than wanton wits and beautiful faces; that beauty therefore is worse than any deformity, when it abuseth the soul; when the soul is made worse by it, in making the party on whom it is bestowed either proud or filthy.

In the one and thirtieth of the Proverbs, 3. 14. a woman is compared to a merchant's ship, which as it is there spoken of a good woman, so it may be apply'd to a bad one likewise; that she is like a ship, always ready for trade, and therefore sets off herself as much as possibly she can with all variety of rigging. And further, concerning both sexes in this case, I shall borrow something from another to speak of them, which I long since observed in these following verses, but a little varied.

*Our women here in gauds excel,
And in their loose attires do swell*

P

More

*More light than sails when fresh gales play ;
 Yet are our men more loose than they,
 More kemb'd & powder'd, rubb'd & trimm'd,
 More bush'd and sleek'd, and flatter limb'd ;
 Grown so effeminate in their mind,
 As if resolv'd to lose their kind.
 Both swell in plenty, wealth and ease,
 And health abus'd made their disease.*

Now much of all this proceeds from fashions, one fashion bringing in another, and the fashion must bear out and excuse all : This fashion (as it should seem) is the best preacher and orator in our nation : It were well if our preachings, exhortations, and reproofs, were in fashion too, for then I am sure they would gain a great party, win a great many both men and women unto them, that now of all things cannot abide them ; for they leave these, and still fashion themselves after the world, in every garish device, disguise, and dress ; or rather after the Devil himself, for they are *Satana ingenia*, (as Tertullian calls them) inventions of the Devil, and not of men. And both may justly fear, that when Almighty God shall come to judge the quick and dead, he may not own these, who have so deformed that simple fashion, in which he first created them, but may say, as Cyprian observes, *Opus hoc meum non est, hæc mea non est imago*, this is not my workmanship, nor this the similitude I first made. When God shall say otherwise of their garments than Jacob sometimes did
 of

of Joseph's, Gen. xxxvii. 33. *Hæc non est tunica filii mei*, this is not my son's coat. When their own cloaths (to take that of Job in a literal sense) Job. ix. 33. "shall make them to be abhorred."

Little do these consider, that Almighty God can give them a rent, instead of a garment, and can cover them with leprosy, instead of cloathing; that when he pleaseth he can put a vizard upon their faces; and can strike as well the daughters of England, as those of Sion, with a scab, Eccl. xii. 17. and cover them with blackness and deformity, instead of beauty.

Pardon (good reader) my length and language in this digression, for I am not bitter, but charitable; *Insector vitia, non homines*; they are the vices and vanities of people, not their persons, I reprove.

————— *Librum*
Si malus nequeo Laudare.——— JUV.

I cannot like to praise idle pamphlets, nor yet honour and esteem vain persons, whatsoever their outward be. It is a mark, amongst others, of a good man, that he is one "in whose eyes a vile person is contemned, Psal. lxxv. 4. in whose eyes, or before whom, and in whose judgment, a vile person, (whatsoever he may otherwise be) who makes himself vile by his irregular course and carriage, is contemned, or little or nothing set by, or regarded.

They were wont to cry out against the court, for bringing forth and nursing up many strange and new fashions. Now, in respect of this, the whole nation is an enlarged dissipated court; and the great city in it, as it shares very much in this national sin, so it must bear a very great part of blame for this; and if, even for this very thing, it escape a signal judgment, it will fare much better than it deserves.

When Augustus the Emperor sometimes rode in triumph through Rome, and then observed the state and bravery of that city, he said, *se tot vidisse Reges, quot Cives*, that he beheld as many kings as citizens: The like may be said of our great city London, wherein a very great number appear, by reason of their strange excess in apparels, princes and princesses, rather than citizens.

Which varied and multiply'd pride in cloathing there, took a very great rise in that greatest visitation by the plague of pestilence that ever that city felt, in the year 1625, when very many of that populous city left their houses and shops, and went into the country, putting themselves and wives into the dresses then in fashion, (a thing that was never done by them before) which were worn by the gentlemen and gentlewomen of the best rank, and they have ever since kept in, if not exceeded them in their habits. This was making a very sad use of so extraordinary a judgment.

And

And ever since, he that strictly views that place, may observe a great contest 'twixt pride and luxury for the upper end of the table. Before which time, none but the principal sort of women there were cloathed in silks; now very many even ordinary servants are thus clad. That city then began to lead the way into this bravery; since (evil examples being easily imitated) all the populous places in this nation follow them. So that we may take up a general lamentation against the pride of this whole nation, but of that city in a more 'special manner, wherein so many thousands are like the Cinamon-tree, whose bark is much better than its body. How may we complain against the garnish, glittering dresses of very-very many even of the inferior rank of people throughout this whole land, when sack-cloth and ashes would become them much better.

I cannot deny, but that things which are rich, and of the greatest value that are made, may be worn; yet doubtless this is a truth too, that all who can find money to pay for them, are not fit to wear them: For (as it is well distinguished) there is, *necessitas Naturæ & personæ*. The bodies of all require covering, to defend them from cold, and mean cloth may warm as well as a rich plush: Yet such as are of high birth and place, are fit to wear rich garments, which will not become others; the consideration of their persons gives them liberty herein, which it doth not to other peo-

ple, who would find much more comfort in friese, cloth, or stuff, than in velvet, or in any other rich thing infected by the pride or fashion of those that wear them, whosoever they be.

But here I might borrow the words of the Prophet, and cry, "how is our silver become dross!" here take up further complaint, when I do consider how much pride and vanity (like worms) breed in greatness, more by far (as I conceive) in the present, than in those foregoing ages, when so many amongst us of great birth have tainted and corrupted their blood, and quite ruin'd their manners, by strange exorbitancies, which have forfeited that honour and respect they might otherwise challenge, and be sure to receive, from all people of sober minds.

When the rude soldiers saw the senators of Rome sit gravely, and demeaning themselves as became their places, they held them to be Gods; but as soon as they discovered the failings and passions of men, they presently took them to be men, and despised and spoiled them. It will be thus with all men of honour, birth, and place; while they do things becoming themselves, in expressing nobleness and honour, and virtue, in their lives and courses, they cannot choose but be highly esteemed; but if they discover in themselves the passions, the pride, the vanity and violences that is in the worser sort of people, if they make them-

selves,

selves cheap, they will grow into contempt; as the horrid vices of Tiberius the Emperor made him to be hated even of his greatest flatterers.

A good heart knows not how to reverence, and put an high esteem upon any thing it observes in man, besides God's image; and when that appears not, but the contrary, men's tongues and pens will make bold with the greatest.

But why do I spend so much time, and ink and paper, in such a seeming impertinent, unpleasing, and unprofitable reproof? For though that which I have named be such a fault in this nation as no language can ever excuse, and no time, I fear, will reform; (because the people of this land, by a long custom and continuance, do challenge such a propriety in new fashions, and are so habituated to them, that in all probability nothing which can fall either from the tongues or pens of men shall ever be able to reform it) yet before I leave this just reproof, I shall add a few words more for those that invent, and urge arguments in the defence thereof; as first, some say that these new invented things, which multiply fashions, serve to keep and maintain many poor people in work: To these I answer, as it was spoken of Judas, when he grumbled at the expence of that ointment bestowed on our blessed Saviour, John xii. 5. 6. saying, "this might have been sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor;" but

this he said (saith the text) "not that he cared for the poor, &c." So, this some speak, not that they love the poor, but the fashion; which poor might doubtless find as comfortable subsistence, if they were not thus employed. And secondly, whereas others pretend, and say, that their hearts may be good and humble, whatsoever their habits be; I dare conclude, that it is as impossible for a good, humble, and modest heart, to dwell under a vain and fantastical habit, as for evil to be good.

I know that is a very strange case which can find no advocate; a poisoned pill may be gilded over, as well as that which is wholesome. Favorinus long ago wrote in the commendation of a quartan ague. That foul and filthy disease hath not wanted a pen to excuse and commend it. "Fools (saith Solomon) make a mock at sin." Prov. xiv. 9. Others have made a very bad wife the subject of their commendation, because (they say) she brings a man to repentance. What is it not that the luxuriancy and rankness of wit cannot put a varnish on? When men, like the silly fly, play with fire 'till they singe their wings, and fall into it. Let me speak therefore, as a Divine, to all those which plead for new fashions, and therefore think they may be, because they are generally taken up and followed; that sins are by so much the greater, by how much they are more general and universal; and that sin is so far from being extenuated, by the multitude of offenders

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Handwritten note:
 I have of
 some 41295
 12th

ers which live under the guilt thereof, that nothing can more aggravate it.

With men, commonness pleads for favour; with God, it pleads for judgment; the leprosy of the whole body being by far more loathsome than that which appears but in a part thereof. And so much of this. I will now proceed to take notice of other particulars, which follow in this relation; as,

SECTION XII.

Of their Language, their Books, their Learning, &c.

THE language of this empire, I mean the vulgar, bears the name of it, and is called Indostan; it hath much affinity with the Persian and Arabian tongues, but the Indostan is a smooother language, and more easy to be pronounced than the other; a language which is very significant, and speaks much in few words; they write it (as we) to the right hand. It is expressed by letters, which are very much different from those alphabets by which the Persian and Arabian tongues are formed. The Persian there is spoken as their most quaint and court tongue. The Arabian is their learned language. Both written backward to the left hand like the Hebrew, from whence they borrow many words, which come
so

so near it, that he who is a good critick in the Hebrew may very well guess at the meaning of much in both those languages. The Persian is a language, as if it consisted all of guttural letters (as some in the Hebrew alphabet are called) filling the mouth in the pronunciation of them; for as the words in that language are full of sense, so in their speaking they are full of sound.

For the Latin and Greek, by which there hath been so much knowledge conveyed into the world, they are as ignorant of them both, as if they had never been; and this may be one great reason why there is so little learning amongst them. But for the people themselves, they are men of very strong reason, and will

*free, & every
person in the language
and knowledge has
come to light
by English
as a great number
of its antiquities
have been published*
speak *ex re nata*, upon any offered occasion, very exceeding well; and doubtless they are a people of such strong capacities, that were there literature amongst them, they might be the authors of many excellent works; but as the case stands with them, all that is there attainable towards learning, is but to read and write.

*It is now
in the library of
poor Saib Khan*
And here by the way let me insert this; that I never saw any idiot, or natural fool, nor any deformed person amongst them, in any of those parts.

For logic and rhetoric, which are so instrumental, the first to enlarge, and the second to polish discourses, they have none but what is natural. They say, that they write some witty

witty poems, and compose many handsome annals and stories of their own and other adjacent countries,

They delight much in music, and have some stringed, but many more wind instruments; they have the use of timbrels likewise; but for want of pleasing airs, their music in any ears never seemed to be any thing but discord.

Their books are not many, and those are manuscripts. That rare and happy invention of printing, which hath been the advancement of so much learning within Christendom, is not known without it. *Since carried the Har- & Perfic. Language of Beng. &c.*

They have heard of Aristotle, whom they call Aphis, and have some of his books, as they say, in the Arabian tongue, in which language (they further say) they have many books written by Avicenna, that ancient physician, who was born in Samarchandia, one of the most fam'd places within the Tartarian empire, the country (as they believe) where Tamerlane, the Mogul's great ancestor, drew his first breath.

Some parts or fragments they have of the Old Testament; of which more, when I shall come to speak of their religion.

Many amongst them profess themselves to have great skill in judicial astrology, that great cheat, which hath been very anciently and often put upon (as the sacred story witnesseth) the people inhabiting the east and south parts of the world. I call it a cheat, because there

is, and must needs be, so much uncertainty in it; all things here below being ordered and over-ruled by the secret and unerring providence of Almighty God, "which frustrateth the tokens of the lyars, and maketh diviners mad; that turneth wise men backward, and maketh their knowledge foolish." Isa. xlv. 25. First, these diviners are mad, when things fall not out according to their bold predictions; and secondly, they have been, and not without cause, esteemed as mad-men, in foretelling things which they could not know, and much less bring to pass.

And therefore I have heard a great master in, and a public professor of astronomy, who could see as far into constellations, and observe as much from them as any other, often say, that he would go by the very self-same rules that others did, to predict things to come, and would write that which was quite contrary to what they observed; yet what he wrote, should as often fall to be as true as what they foretold.

Yet notwithstanding the truth of these premises, the Great Mogul puts so much confidence in his Astrologers, that he will not undertake a journey, nor yet resolve to do any thing besides of the least consequence, unless his wizards tell him it is a good and a prosperous hour to begin and set upon such an undertaking; and at the very instant he hath his directions from them, he sets upon the thing he undertakes, and not before.

It

It is strange to consider what ignorance or despair in this case may not put men upon, may not put men into; ignorance in that King, thus besotted with an high opinion of his astrologers. So despair in Saul, another King long before him, who after he had lost the favour of God, grew desperate, and resolved that if God would not answer him, Satan should. And therefore he said in his distress unto his servants, 1 Sam. xxviii. 7. "Seek me out one that hath a familiar spirit." The condition of Saul was at this time exceeding sad, as appears by his complaint, v. 15. "The Philistines make war against me, and God is departed from me, and answers me no more, either by prophets or dreams; and what shall I do?" I confess that the loss of God is the greatest of all losses; for as his favour to a believing soul, in the want of every thing besides, is enough, "because his loving kindness is better than life itself," Psal. lxxiii. 3. so the gaining of everything the world can afford, with the loss of God's countenance, makes profit loss; a chair of state uneasy, an hereditary, and much more a usurped scepter, so unweildy, as that it cannot be managed with comfort.

Here Saul, a King, is so perplexed in his thoughts, when as Almighty God had taken his loving kindness from him, that he asks the question, what shall I do? Not what thou didst (wretched Saul) against the stream of thy

thy own conscience, to seek unto those whom thou had'st but of late condemned and punished, to take a course which thou knowest to be devilish. Miserable Saul ! how could'st thou hope to find God at thy command, that would'st not be at his ? How could'st thou look that God should regard thy voice in trouble, that would'st not regard his in peace ? Saul had now forfeited God's favour, and God takes the forfeiture ; and therefore it was not to be wondered at, that he walked so irregularly, when he had put himself out of God's protection.

Thus before, (Numb. 22) when all help failed Moab, the magician was sought unto ; if there be any one project worse than another, a wicked heart will find them out ; tho' it be a sign of a most desperate cause ; when Satan is made either a man's counsellor, or refuge.

What men may do by the help of astrology, and do it safely and without sin, deserves commendation, not blame, nor censure. But certainly to conclude of future events, is above art, or man ; because those things Almighty God hath lockt up among his secrets, far above all reach, or search. Nay, the most intelligent spirits know nothing of future events ; or, could those evil spirits truly foretel things to come no way pre-existent, they could not without great danger and sin be consulted withal ; for the evil of their nature debars all the

the benefit that can come by their information; for they never do a man an apparent good one way, but they do him a real mischief another.

The Devil (as we may conceive) knows things past; and as he animates and encourages a man to theft by his suggestions, telling him, that he is poor, and must live, and therefore may steal; that if he cannot support himself by warrantable, he must live, and therefore may take other courses. Now the Devil that courts a man to theft, can certainly tell what he steals, and therefore can discover goods stolen; wherein the Devil makes a double advantage unto himself; first, in making the thief his own; and secondly, the other, who leaves God, and repairs to him in his instruments for a discovery of goods thus stolen.

Now for a Mahometan, who lives in the dark, to consult soothsayers and wizards, it is no great marvel, because his ignorance of God puts him upon those mad shifts and conceits to have recourse to Satan. But for such as profess themselves Christians, who live under that clear light, which strictly forbids all such courses; for these in their losses to repair to cunning men and women, (as they call them) who cannot possibly help them, but by some secret compact with the Devil, is certainly a very grievous sin, an undertaking most horribly impious. So then, they, whosoever they be, who to find out their stolen goods hazard
the

the loss of their souls, however they speed, shall gain nothing by that enquiry.

Yet this hath been a sin very ancient in the world, and undertaken for more ends than I have named. When

Filius ante diem patris inquirat in annos,

The naughty children of as bad parents, have sought out to have the nativity of their fathers calculated, that they might be told (if such a thing could be discovered) how long they had to live; thinking every minute a month 'till they see them kneeling in brass or stone, or more cheaply buried; that so they might be setting that abroach with profuse luxury, which their parents had been long barrelling up with great avarice. It falling out many times by the righteous judgment of Almighty God, that when wickedness gets, wickedness shall consume the estate so gotten; according to that in the Prophet Micah, i. 7. "She gathered it of the hire of an harlot, and to an harlot it shall return." But I proceed to speak,

SECTION

SECTION XIII.

Of their Physicians, Diseases, Cures. When they begin their Year. How they measure their Time, &c.

HERE are those which pretend unto much skill in physick, though (for aught I could ever there observe) the people make but little use of them, they fearing more *Medicum quàm morbum*; and therefore do believe the physician to be the more dangerous disease.

The common diseases of that country are bloody fluxes, with others that come not to blood, hot fevers, calentures, which seize on and fire the head and brain, more than other parts. These many times put our men at sea into very high distempers, especially while they are under the torrid zone, which makes the poor creatures visited with them sometimes to conceit the spacious sea and waves therein to be great fields full of haycocks; and if they were not sometimes happily prevented, would leap overboard to tumble in them.

For ordinary agues, such as are so common among us, and for those two torments, rather than diseases, (when they are felt in extremity) the gout and the stone, they have the happiness to be ignorant of them.

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But sometimes they are visited with an inflammation, or an extreme burning, such as is spoken of Deut. xxviii. 22. or rather with a most grievous pestilence, which on a sudden sweeps away many thousands when it comes into great populous cities. This pestilence makes the bodies of men there which are visited with it, like a house, which on a sudden is covered all over with fire at once. The city Amadavar (at our being there with the King) was visited with this pestilence, in the month of May, and our family was not exempted from that most uncomfortable visitation; for within the space of nine days seven persons that were English of our family were taken away by it; and none of those which died lay sick above twenty hours, and the major part well, and sick, and dead in twelve hours. As our surgeon, (who was there all the physician we had) and he led the way, falling sick at mid-day, and the following midnight dead. And there were three more that followed him, one immediately after the other, who made as much haste to the grave as he had done; and the rest went after them, within that space of time I named before. And, as I before observed, all those that died in our family of this pestilence, had their bodies set all on fire by it, so soon as they were first visited; and when they were dying, and dead, broad spots of a black and blue colour appeared on their breasts; and their flesh was made so extreme
hot.

not by their most high distemper, that we who survived could scarce endure to keep our hands upon it.

It was a most sad time, a fiery trial indeed. But such is the goodness of Almighty God, that he makes the miseries of men here, *aut tolerabiles, aut breves*, either sufferable or short; so that if the thing imposed be extreme heavy to be borne, it continues not long, as this most grievous visitation, most violent for the time, like a mighty storm, and then blown away. For here the mercy of God suddenly stepped in betwixt the living and the dead; so that not only in our family, but also in that great city, the plague was stayed.

All our family (my Lord Ambassador only excepted) were visited with this sickness; and we all, who through God's help and goodness outlived it, had many great blisters, fill'd with a thick yellow watry substance, that arose upon many parts of our bodies, which when they brake did even burn and corrode our skins, as it ran down upon them.

For my part, I had a calenture before at Mandoa, which brought me even into the very jaws of death, from whence it pleased God then to rescue and deliver me; which, amongst thousands and millions of mercies more received from him, hath and shall forever give me cause to speak good of his name.

There are very few English which come thither, but have some violent sickness, which

if they escape, and live temperately, they usually enjoy very much health afterward. But death made many breaches into my Lord Ambassador's family ; for of four and twenty waiters, besides his secretary and myself, there was not above the fourth man returned home; and he himself, by violent fluxes, was twice brought even to the very brink of the grave.

The natives of East-India, in all their violent hot diseases, make very little use of physicians, unless it be to breath a vein sometimes, after which they use much fasting as their most hopeful remedy.

That foul disease (the consequence of filthy incontinency) is too common in those hot climates, where the people that have it are much more affected with the trouble it brings, than with the sin or shame thereof. As many amongst us, who care not for issue, but lust; and after pay dear for their filthiness, which many times rots, or else makes bare the bones of them that are thus filthy. For as virtue and goodness rewards itself; so to itself wickedness is a punishment; *pœna peccati peccasse*, saith Seneca; this is clear in the sad consequences of many other sins; *-cui ebu? cui vœ?* who hath woe? who hath sorrow? Solomon asks the question, and resolves it too, Prov. xxiii. 29. "they that tarry long at the wine, &c. for it will bite like a serpent, and sting like an adder." How many sad diseases are contracted to men's bodies by this kind of
intem-

intemperancy? who can recount the hurts that by this means come to the whole body, especially to the head, stomach, liver, and the more noble parts? who can recite the rheums, gouts, dropfies, apoplexies, inflammations, and other distempers hence arising? Drunkenness being like that serpent *Amphisbæna*, which hath a sting in the mouth, and a sting in the tail, for it kills two ways, first the body, and after that the soul.

How were the thoughts of Amnon racked about the compassing of that incestuous, unnatural, and brutish lust with his sister Tamar? for first he is sick for her, and after he had reaped the bitter fruit of his beastly desires, (his lust ending in loathing) he was sick of her, "and hated her exceedingly, and said unto her, arise, be gone." 2 Sam. xiii. 15.

Brutus and Cassius were traitors which Julius Cæsar fear'd, *Macilenti & pallidi*, men pal'd with anger, whose thoughts to do mischief drank up all their own sap and moisture. Envy (saith Solomon) "is the rottenness of the bones," Prov. xiv. 30. hence the heart of the malicious and envious man is never without torment, for it boils continually, as it were in brine; and therefore this sin is said to have much justice in itself, *Justius invidia nihil est*, because it eateth the heart and marrow of her master, as he desireth to have the heart of another eaten up. And thus may it be said of anger, when it boils up to rage, (as many

times it doth) *in se semper armatur furor*, that it is always in arms against itself.

The people in East-India live up to our greatest ages; but without all question they have more old people than we; a thing not to be wonder'd at, if we consider the great temperance of that people in general in their eating and drinking.

But to proceed. The Hindooes, or Heathens there, begin their year the first day of March. The Mahometans begin theirs the tenth, at the very instant as the astrologers there guess that the sun enters into Aries. Their year, as ours, is divided into twelve months, or rather into thirteen moons, for according to them they make many payments. They distinguish their time in a much different manner from us, dividing the day into four, and the night into as many parts, which they call Pores; which again they subdivide each of them into eight parts, which they call Grees, measured according to the ancient custom, by water dropping out of one vessel into another, by which there always stands a man appointed for that service, to turn that vessel up again when it is all dropped out, and then to strike with a hammer (upon the brim of a concave piece of metal, like the inner part of a large platter, hanging by the brim on a wire) the number of those pores and grees as they pass. It hath a deep sound, and may be heard very far; but these are not common amongst them.

Neither

Neither have they any clocks or sun-dials, to shew them further how their time passeth.

We lived there some part of our time a little within, or under the tropic of Cancer, and then the sun was our zenith, or verticle, at noon day directly over our heads, at his return to his northern bounds; of which I have spoken something before. The sun rising there, was about six hours in the morning before its appearing here, so that it is twelve of the clock with them when it is six with us. We had the sun there above the horizon in December, when the days are shortest, near eleven hours; and in June, when they are at their fullest length, somewhat more than thirteen hours; which long absence of the sun there from the face of the earth, was very advantageous to cool both the earth and air. I proceed to speak,

SECTION XIV.

Of the most excellent Moralities which are to be observed amongst the People of those Nations.

NEXT to those things which are spiritually good, there is nothing which may more challenge a due and deserved commendation, than those things which are morally and materially so; and many of these may be drawn out to life, from the examples of great numbers amongst that people.

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For the temperance of very many, by far the greatest part of the Mahometans and Gentiles, it is such, as that they will rather choose to die, like the mother and her seven sons, mentioned in the second of Machabees, and seventh chapter, than eat or drink any thing their law forbids them. Or like those Rachabites, mentioned Jer. xxxv. "where Jonadab their father commanded them to drink no wine, and they did forbear it for the commandment's sake." Such meat and drink as the law allows them, they take only to satisfy nature, (as before) not appetite, strictly observing Solomon's rule, Prov. xxiii. 2. in keeping a knife to their throats, that they may not transgress in taking too much of the creature; hating gluttony, and esteeming drunkenness, as indeed it is, another madness; and therefore have but one word in their language, though it be very copious, and that word is *mest*, for a drunkard, and a mad-man; which shews their hatred of drunken distempers; for none of the people there are at any time seen drunk (though they might find liquor enough to do it) but the very offal and dregs of that people, and these rarely or very seldom.

And here I shall insert another most heedful particular to my present purpose, which deserves a most high commendation to be given unto that people in general, how poor and mean soever they be; and that is, the great exemplary care they manifest in their
piety

piety to their parents, that notwithstanding they serve for very little, (as I observed before) but five shillings a moon for their whole livelihood and subsistence; yet if their parents be in want, they will impart at the least half of that little towards their necessities, choosing rather to want themselves, than that their parents should suffer need.

I would have this read and read over again by many who call themselves Christians, yet most shamefully neglect those loins from which they fell, looking upon their parents, if they be in need, either with a scornful or a grudging eye. Whence we have this saying amongst us, that one father and mother will better provide for ten helpless children, than so many children make fitting provision for one poor father and mother; as if they were not the sons and daughters of men, but rather children of the horse-leeches, who are ever crying, give, give, never returning aught, or any thing proportionable to answer that love and care they have received from their parents.

It is the precept of the Apostle, Ephes. vi. 2. (which is often repeated before in the sacred story) "honour thy father and thy mother, which is the first commandment with promise," with promise of a blessing unto all those who perform that duty as they ought. Now this honouring of parents must be expressed by all ways that manifest children's duty; not only in an outward respect and distance,

tance, but also in a free relief of them, if children be able, and parents stand in need.

'Tis well observed, that when Noah, once surprized by wine, had laid open his nakedness in his tent," Gen. ix. and by one hour's drunkenness had discovered that which more than six hundred years sobriety had modestly concealed, (for drunkenness doth make imperfections, and presents them thus made to others eyes) that his sons Shem and Japhet, out of duty and respect unto their father, took a garment and went backward, that they might cover, not behold their father's nakedness. Which act of duty and respect unto their father, was largely repaid unto them in their posterity; whereas Cham, their brother, for his undutifulness in this case, bears his father's curse, and lives under it, and is plagued in his children. We may conclude it as a rule, that there have not been any very neglectful of, or rebelliously undutiful unto their parents, that have prospered in themselves and seed. Absalom lifts up his hand against his father David, and his head is after lifted up and hanged in an oak, where he died miserably, 2 Sam. xviii. I could instance further, if it were the business of this discourse. But I return again to the place from whence I am digressed, and must say

Further for this people, (which is not the least commendation of them) they are in general a nation that do never pride it in any new fashions ;

fashions; for as they are very civilly clad, so am I confident that they keep to the very self-same fashion that their ancestors did wear many hundred years ago, as before I observed.

And certainly, if a man should take his journey from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, he should not find a people in all the world so over-run with an itch after a new fashion, as the French and English are; of which likewise something before.

For the Mahometans, (who live much upon the labours of the Hindoos, keeping them under, because they formerly conquered them) there are many of them idle, and know better to eat than work; and these are all for to-morrow, a word very common in their mouths; and the word is *sub-ba*, which signifies to-morrow, and when that day comes, to-morrow; and so still to-morrow, they will set down upon their business to-morrow, will do any thing you would have them to do to-morrow, they will bestow any thing upon you *sub-ba*, to-morrow. *Pollicitis divites*, most rich in promises, in performances not so. That being true of many of those Mahometans, which Livie sometimes spake of Hannibal, that he stood most to his promise when it was most for his profit, (though to do the Mahometans in general right, such as are merchants and traders are exact in their dealings) or as Plu-
tarch

tarch writes of Antigonus the King, who was called Δοῖς, as being ever about to give, but seldom giving. Or as Martial of his Posthumus,

*Cras te venturum, Cras dicis, Posthume, semper :
Dic mihi cras istud, Posthume, quando venit.*

*To-morrow still thou say'st thou'lt come to me :
Say, Posthumus, when will that morrow be ?*

But for the Hindooes, or Heathens, the ancient inhabitants of East-India, they are a very industrious people, very diligent in all the works of their particular callings, believing that bread sweetest, and most savoury, which is gain'd by sweat. These are for the generality the people that plant and till the ground ; these they which make those curious manufactures that empire affords ; working (as we say) with tooth and nail, employing their ears and toes, as well as their fingers, to assist them (by holding threads of silk) in the making of some things they work. These are a people who are not afraid of a lion in the way, of a lion in the streets, as the slothful man is, Prov. xxvi. 13. but they lay hold on the present time, the opportunity, to set upon their businesses which they are to do to-day ; they being very laborious in their several employments, and very square and exact to make good all their engagements.

Which appears much in their justness manifested

fested unto those that trade with them; for if a man will put it unto their consciences to sell the commodity he desires to buy at as low a rate as he can afford it, they will deal squarely and honestly with him; but if in those bargainings a man offer them much less than their set price, they will be apt to say, what, dost thou think me a Christian, that I would go about to deceive thee?

A salt, a sharp, a biting sarcasm, or rather a horrible truth, to be put upon the score of many who call themselves Christians, yet resolve, *quocunque modo rem*, to get what they can gain, however they get it. It therefore concerns all, and that most highly, who trade in those parts, and are called by that name, if they will trade for Heaven, as well as commodities, (which if they do not, their returns will be sad and poor, and all their labour lost) to look about them, and to be very circumspect in all their doings and dealings, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed, and Christianity itself made to suffer, by any of their unjustifiable carriages.

I never observe that place, Gen. xx. 18. where Abimelech reproves Sarah, but methinks it is sad for Sarah, the wife of Abraham, of Abraham the father of the faithful, to do that for which she might be reproved by Abimelech. It was a shameful reproof indeed for a woman of her sort to be taught her duty, and upbraided with her faults by a heathen

heathen man. Surely it cannot but grieve every good heart, to hear that which is too often, and truly spoken, to the shame and reproach of the gospel; that there is more truth and fidelity, more just dealing and moral honesty, more care of their word, more good neighbourhood and kindness, more charity and mercifulness, among a number of meer natural men, nay among Turks and Infidels, than amongst a great many who are of chief note for the profession of the gospel.

When the Canaanites and Perizzites had seen what the sons of Jacob, Simcon, and Levi, had done unto the Shechemites, how that they had broken their promise and covenant with them, how cruelly and barbarously they had us'd them, this made Jacob to say (though alas! he was far from approving and consenting to that they did) that it would "make his religion to stink among the inhabitants of the land." Gen. xxxiv. 30.

Surely for moral honesty it is most true, that even those Heathens I have named marvellously exceed us in it; and oh! that Christians would be made to blush at the consideration thereof; Christians, that have the book of God for their direction, where they may run and read their duties, besides that book of nature, which is the only guide that people have to walk by; yet that these who live in darkness and in the shadow of death, should perform many of the strictest things of the law

law of bondage, and Christians who live under a law of liberty, liberty in and through Christ Jesus, liberty (I say) for all those that do not abuse it, should be so blinded with light that they perform not the things, no not of nature.

It is a most sad and horrible thing to consider what scandal there is brought upon the Christian religion, by the looseness and remissness, by the exorbitances of many, which come amongst them, who profess themselves Christians, of whom I have often heard the natives (who live near the port where our ships arrive) say thus, in broken English which they have gotten, "Christian religion, Devil religion, Christian much drunk, Christian much do wrong, much bear, much abuse ediers."

The unmitigated extremities of tyranny and cruelty (to which nothing could be added to make it more cruel) practised by the Spaniards upon the people of West-India, is above all example, and almost belief; when their bloody outrages were such, as made those wretched natives to submit unto any kind of death, which they would voluntarily impose upon themselves, rather than endure the Spaniards tyranny. Benzo, in his story of West-India, writes strange things of them. First, of their cruelty, that they destroyed more than twenty millions of people amongst them; and then that those Indians would say of them,

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En Christiane, quid sunt Christiani? &c. O Christian, what are Christians? and thus they answered themselves by defining them: Christians are such as thirst after innocent blood; Christians such as desire other men's lands, other men's wives, other men's gold and silver; and would hold out little wedges of gold, and say, *En Deus Christianorum*, behold the God of the Christians! They would further add, that the Christians said, that they were the children of God, and that after death they went to Heaven; upon which they gave this judgment, *Qualis Deus iste, qui tam impuros & sceleratos filios habet?* What kind of God was the God of the Christians, which had such impure and wicked sons? And if he were like them, there could be no goodness in him. And if those Christians went to Heaven, they would not desire to go thither, for they would not be where the Christians were. And thus was the honour of God, the name of Christianity, by their most lewd and most cruel behaviour, derided, defamed, reproached, by those which were infidels and Paynims.

But to return again unto the people of East-India: Though the Christians which come amongst them do not such horrible things, yet they do enough to make Christianity itself evil spoken of, as a religion that deserves more to be abhorred, than embraced. For truly it is a sad sight there to behold a drunken Christian, and a sober Indian; a temperate Indian, and a Christian.

Christian given up to his appetite. An Indian that is just and square in his dealing, a Christian not so; a laborious Indian, and an idle Christian; as if he was born only to fold his arms, or *fruges tantum consumere natus*, to devour corn, and wear out wool. O what a sad thing it is for Christians to come short of Indians, even in moralities; to come short of those whom themselves believe come short of Heaven.

Now if any ask whence those moral virtues flow that so much adorn Heathens? I answer in those words of our Saviour spoken to Peter in another case, Mat. xvi. 17. "that flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto them." But certainly it proceeds from more than these, and that is, from those remnants and remains, from those common impressions and notions, which are sealed up in the minds of every one that hath a reasonable soul, a part of Adam's first integrity before his fall, a substance or blessing in a tree that seemed to be dead; little sparks raked up (as it were) under many ashes, which can never die, nor be utterly extinguished, so long as the soul liveth. Hence the Apostle speaks this of the Gentiles, Rom. ii. 14, 15. "that they having not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, which shews the works of the law written in their hearts, &c." But so much be spoken of the moralities of that people: I come now to take notice,

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SECTION

SECTION XV.

*Of their Religion, their Priests, their Devotion,
their Churches, &c.*

AND now I come to speak of their religion, I shall first take notice of the Mahometan religion there professed. That of the Hindooes, or Heathens, shall find a place wherein I may speak of it afterwards.

But first of the Mahometan religion, because the great Mogul, with his grandees, and all other of quality about him, are Mahometans; which religion (if it deserves that name) took its first rise, and began to be professed in the world, about the year of Christ 620, as hath been observed by many writers.

The ring-leader to it, and chief founder of it, was Mahomet, an Arabian by birth, born (as is said) in a very obscure place, and of very mean and low parentage, but a man fill'd with all subtilty and craft; who, (as they write) after that he had much enriched himself by wives, came to be the commander of a company of Arabian volunteers that followed Heraclius, the Emperor, in his Persian wars; but not long after himself and soldiers, falling first into mutiny, and after that to rebellion, (which was an excellent preparative to put an innovation or change on religion) and his soldiers

diers standing close unto him, he himself, with the help of Sergivus, a Christian by profession, but an heretical Nestorian Monk, and of Abdalla, a Jew, composed a religion, that hath nothing in it, or that savours of nothing so much, as of rude ignorance, and most palpable imposture; it being a monster of many heads, a most damnable mixture of horrid impieties, if it be considered altogether.

Yet because it contains much in it very pleasing to flesh and blood, and sooths up and complies exceedingly with corrupt nature, it wanted no followers presently to embrace and assert it; so that in a little time, like a gangrene, it spread itself into many parts of Asia, and since that hath enlarged itself like Hell; so that at this present day it hath more that profess it in the world, than those which profess Christianity, if we take in all collectively that do but bear the names of Christians the world over.

The poor people, that are so much abused by the strong delusions of that great impostor, say for themselves thus, that God hath sent three great prophets into the world, first Moses, and after him Christ, and then Mahomet; and further add, that when Christ left the world, he promised to send a comforter into it, and that comforter was Mahomet, and therefore they close with him.

I shall not need, amongst men professing Christianity, to write any thing in answer to

those their frantic assertions, neither will I make it my business to enlarge myself in the discovery of the Mahometan religion, because that hath been done by so many hands already; only this I will say of it, and not much more; that it hath will-worship for its foundation, fables and lyes for its support and a groundless presumption for its superstructure.

For its foundation, first, abundance of will-worship, manifested in many outward performances, which are not hard to be performed, because the depraved will of man is ready prest and bent to perform things of that kind with readiness, chearfulness, and delight. The works of your father, the Devil, you will do, saith our Saviour of the obstinate Jews, do them, be they never so hard, with content and willingness.

Secondly, the Mahometan religion hath abundance of strange, monstrous fables and lyes for its support, their Alcoran (for the substance of it) being a fardle of foolish impossibilities, fit to be received by none but fools and mad-men; for they can gain no more credit with those that are judicious, than what is related in the rhiming story of that antient knight-errant, Bevis of Southampton, or in the poems of Orlando the furious, where may be found some such like parallel fictions; as of Astalpo, who mounted a griffin, which carried him up immediately into the moon, where (they say) Mahomet some time was;
the

reason, I conceive, which made himself and his followers ever since so full of lunacy, or madness.

Thirdly, it has a groundless presumption for its superstructure, which presumption draws that misled people into a careless security, they esteeming themselves the only true believers of the world, and none true believers but themselves.

Yet it cannot be denied, but that there are some things in the precepts which Mahomet hath prescribed to be received and observed by his followers, that are good, laid down in eight commandments, which are these :

- First, That God is a great God, and the only God, and Mahomet is the prophet of God.

Second, That children must obey their parents, and do nothing to displease them, either in word or deed.

Third, That every one must do to another that, and only that, which he would have another do to him.

Fourth, That every man, five times every day, must repair to the mosque, or church, to pray there ; or wheresoever he is, he must pray every day so often ; if not in the church, then elsewhere.

Fifth, That one whole moon in every year, every man, come to years of discretion, must spend the whole day, twixt the rising and setting of the sun, in fasting.

Sixth, That every one out of his store, must give unto the poor liberally, freely, and voluntarily.

Seventh, That every one, except those votaries which renounce marriage, must marry, to increase and multiply the sect and religion of Mahomet.

Eighth, That no man must kill, or shed blood.

Now much in these commandments agrees with the word of truth; and we need not wonder at it, when we consider, that even the Devil himself (as we may observe in the gospel) hath sometimes had a scripture in his mouth. So have hereticks, and so did Mahomet and his assistants mix some scripture in their Alcoran, to put a fairer gloss upon their irreligion. But what scriptures they all urge, are for the most part, if not ever, wrested, by their maiming or perverting, or misapplying of them. Thus the Devil quotes a scripture, Mat. iv. 6. but one part is left out, and the rest misapplied. Those therefore who, wrest or mangle scripture, to serve their own turn, we may see from whose school they have it. Thus Mahomet cites scripture to do more mischief by it: Let no man content himself, and think all is well, because he can sometimes speak good words, and have a scripture in his mouth; when he considers, that Hereticks, Hypocrites, do so, that Mahomet, nay Satan himself, hath done as much.

Satan

Satan can transform himself into an angel of light, and seem holy, to do mischief: Thus Simeon and Levi (out of conscience pretended) could not give their sister to an uncircumcised man; Gen. xxxiv. there was God in their mouths, but Satan in their hearts; they hide their cruelty with craft, and cover their craft with religion. Of all mischiefs, those that smile most, are most deadly; the ugliest and vilest of all projects well make use of Religion as a foil, to set them off; poisoned pills can find gold to cover them; because the worse that any thing is, the better shew it desires to make.

But to proceed. The Mahometan priests are called Moolas, who read some parcels out of their Alcoran, upon Fridays, (which are their sabbaths, or days of rest) unto the people assembled in their mosques or churches; and then further deliver some precepts, which they gather out of it, unto their miserably deluded hearers.

These Moolas are they which join those of that religion in marriage; and these employ much of their time as scribes, to do business for others; or to teach their young children to write and read their language in written hand, for (as before) they have no printing. Those Moolas are more distinguished from the rest of the Mahometans by their beards (which they wear long) than by any other of their habits. Their calling gains

and gives them very much reverence and esteem amongst the people ; as another sort of priests there have, of an high order and rank, which live much retired ; but when they appear openly, are most highly revered ; they are called Seayds, who derive themselves from Mahomet.

The Mahometans have fair churches, which (as before) they call Mosques ; their churches are built of marble or coarser stone ; the broad side towards the west is made up close like a firm wall, and so are both ends, in which there are no lights ; the other broad side, towards the east, is erected upon pillars, (where a man may take notice of excellent workmanship, both in vaults and arches) the spaces between which pillars stand open. Their churches are built long and narrow, standing north and south, which way they lay up the bodies of their dead, but none of them within their churches.

At the four corners of their mosques which stand in great cities, or in other places much peopled, there are high and round, but small turrets, which are made open with lights every way, wherein a man may be easily seen and heard ; their devout Moolaas five times every day ascend unto the tops of those high turrets, whence they proclaim, as loud as they can possibly speak, their prophet Mahomet, thus in Arabian, *La alla illa alla, Mabomet Reful-alla*, that is, here is no God, but one God,

God, and Mahomet, the messenger of God : That voice, instead of bells, (which they use not in their churches) puts the most devout in mind of the hours of their devotion ; those priests being exceedingly zealous to promote the cause, and to keep up the honour of their Mahomet ; as the men of Ephesus sometime were, when they feared that the credit of their baggage Diana was like to be called into question, they took up a cry which continued for the space of two hours, crying out with one voice, “ great is Diana of the Ephesians.” *Acts xix. 24.*

When a man's religion is right, he ought to be very zealous in the maintenance of it, very fearful of the hazard, or loss thereof ; and therefore if these Mahometans, or those men of Ephesus, had had truth on their side, they would both have deserved much commendation for what they did. And so Micah too, who thus complained, when he had lost his images, *Judg. xviii. 24.* “ they have stolen away my Gods, and what have I more ? ” I confess that the loss of God is the greatest of all losses ; but those were proper Gods which Micah there bewailed, that would be stolen, that could not save themselves ; who, if the fire spare them, rust, or rottenness, or time, will consume them. But those Mahometans, though they do not endure either idols or images in their houses, or churches, yet are they very forward to cry up their irreligion, and to shew much zeal for it.

Zeal

Zeal is derived from a word that signifies to burn ; it is a compound, made up of many affections, as of grief, joy, love, anger, well tempered together, and when it is so, it hath its due commendation both of God and man ; and curst is he that goes about to extinguish that holy fire, that holy fire (I say) which hath light in it as well as heat, and heat as well as light. The truth of zeal may be further discovered (of zeal that is good) if we consider first the root from which it springs, and that's the knowledge and love of God ; secondly, the rule by which it is carried on, and that's the word and will of God ; and lastly, the end it aims at, and intends, and that's the honour and glory of God ; and zeal thus ordered cannot be too violent : But when for want of these it becomes irregular, and shews itself over much in bad causes, (such as before were nam'd) it is, *Cursus celerissimus, sed præter viam*, a swift violent motion, but quite out of the way.

And if it be good to be zealous in a good cause, then it is better to be zealous in the best ; and the best cause to shew zeal in, is the cause of God ; *pro aris & focis*, was the good old proverb ; first to stand up for God's rights, and afterward for our own ; and to believe that that *unum necessarium*, which our Saviour commends unto us, Lu. x. 42. is that one thing principally and especially necessary ; though the Devil, and our own corruption, will tell us,

us, (if we will believe them) that there is nothing more needless. When Moses and Aaron came to Pharaoh, and spake unto him about sacrificing unto the Lord their God, Pharaoh replies, ye are idle, ye are idle, therefore ye say, let us go and sacrifice unto the Lord, Ex. 5. 17. The same Devil that there spake in Pharaoh, speaks in all ignorant and prophane people, who call religion idleness and hypocrisy; a strict and even walking with God, singularity, or a doing more than God requires us to perform.

But, however, that is most true which was spoken by Philo-Judeus, *Ubi de religione, ibi quoque de vita agitur*, we must act for religion, as we would strive for life. Philosophy tells us, that *Tactus est fundamentum anime sensitiva*, that the very foundation of natural life is feeling; so then, no feeling, no life; and the want of spiritual feeling, argues the want too of spiritual life. The poor seduced Mahometans, and many others in the world, are very keen, sharp, and forward, to maintain that which they call Religion; the more shame for those who profess themselves Christians, and have a sure word to build their hope upon, yet are *serventissimi in terrenis, in celestibus frigidissimi*, as hot as fire in earthly, as cold as ice in heavenly things: A sad thing to consider, that so many should have their tongues bent like bows for lyes, (as the prophet Jeremy complains, Jer. ix. 37.) and Christians not
valiant

valiant for the truth ; that others should drive, like Jehu, furiously, madly, and that in the ways of error, injustice, oppression, prophane-ness, as in all other kinds of wickedness ; and Christians, in the cause of God, more heavily, slowly, like the Egyptians in the Red-Sea, when their chariot wheels were off. Shall Turks and Infidels solicit bad causes so earnestly ; and Christians those actions which are good so faintly ! *Acrius ad perniciem, quàm nos ad vitam* ; make more haste to destruction, than Christians to life and happiness ! It was St. Jerome's complaint, *considerare pudet quantus feruor, quæ cura, &c.* that he was ashamed to consider how solicitous some men were in earthly, and how sluggish others in heavenly things, as if they durst not so much as to own the cause of God. They were wont to say of cowards, in Rome, that there was nothing Roman in them ; it may be apply'd to Christians, who shew no resolutions for Christ, that there is nothing Christian in them ; they even betraying the cause of Christ, while they so faintly maintain it. Hardly would they die for Christ, who dare not speak for him ; certainly they would never be brought to afford him their blood, that will not for the present afford him their breath.

But to return again to those Mahometan priests, who out of zeal do so often proclaim their Mahomet. Tom Coryat, upon a time, having heard their Moolaas often (as before) so
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to cry, got him upon an high place directly opposite to one of those priests, and contradicted him thus: *La alla illa alla, Hafaret Eesa Ben-alla*; that is, no God, but one God, and the Lord Christ, the Son of God; and further added, that Mahomet was an impostor: And all this he spake in their own language, as loud as possibly he could, in the ears of many Mahometans that heard it. But whether (circumstances considered) the zeal or discretion of our Pilgrims were more here to be commended, I leave to the judgement of my reader: That he did so, I am sure; and I further believe how that bold attempt of his, if it had been acted in many other places of Asia, would have cost him his life, with as much torture as cruelty could have invented; but he was here taken for a mad-man, and so let alone.

Happily, the rather, because every one there hath liberty to profess his own religion freely, and if he please may argue against theirs, without fear of an inquisition; as Tom Coryat did at another time, with a Moolaa; and the question, which of these two was the Mussleman, or true believer? After much heat on both sides, Tom Coryat thus distinguished, that himself was the orthodox Mussleman, or true true believer, the Moola the pseudo Mussleman, or false true believer; which distinction, if I had not thought it would have made my reader smile, had been here omitted.

The Mahometans have a set form of prayer
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in the Arabian tongue, not understood by many of the common people, yet repeated by them as well as by the Moolaas; they likewise rehearse the names of God, and of their Mahomet, certain times every day upon beads, like the mislead Papists, who seem to regard more the number, than the weight of prayers.

Certainly will-worship is a very easy duty; and if Almighty God would be as much pleased with it as man is, so much of that service would not be quite lost: But in those services wherein God is highly concern'd, to rest in the performance of any duty, when 'tis done, or any other way to fail in the manner of doing it, makes those services which some may esteem holy, no better than sins; prayers, an abomination; there being a vast difference betwixt saying of prayers, and praying of prayers; 'twixt the service of the head and that of the heart; prayer, and prayer, (heedful circumstances considered) differing as much as Religion and Superstition.

But for the carriage of that people in their devotions. Before they go into their churches they wash their feet; and entering into them, put off their shoes. As they begin their devotions, they stop their ears, and fix their eyes, that nothing may divert their thoughts; then in a soft and still voice they utter their prayers, wherein are many words most significantly expressing the omnipotency, greatness, eternity, and other attributes of God. Many words

words likewise that seem to express much humiliation, they confessing in divers submissive gestures their own unworthiness, when they pray, casting themselves low upon their face sundry times, and then acknowledge that they are burthens to the earth, and poison to the air, and the like; being so confounded and amaz'd, as that they seem not to dare so much as to lift up their eyes towards Heaven; but after all this, comfort themselves in the mercies of God, through the mediation of Mahomet.

If this people could as well conclude, as they can begin and continue their prayers, in respect of their expressions and carriages in them, they might find comfort; but the conclusion of their devotions mars all.

Yet this, for their commendation, (who doubtless, if they knew better would pray better) that what diversions and impediments soever they have, arising either from pleasure or profit, the Mahometans pray five times a day. The Mogul doth so, who sits upon the throne; the shepherd doth so, that waits on his flock in the field, (where, by the way, they do not follow their flocks, but their flocks them); all sorts of Mahometans do thus, whether fixed in a place, or moving in a journey, when their times or hours of prayer come, which in the morning are at six, nine, and twelve of the clock, and at three and six in the afternoon.

When they pray, it is their manner to set their faces that they may look towards Medina, near

near Mecca, in Arabia, where their great seducer, Mahomet, was buried, who promised them, after one thousand years, to fetch them all to Heaven ; which term when it was out, and the promise not fulfilled, the Mahometans concluded that their forefathers mistook the time of the promise of his coming, and therefore resolved to wait for the accomplishment of it one thousand years more. In the mean time they do reverence that place where the body of Mahomet was laid up, that whosoever hath been there (as there are divers which flock yearly thither in pilgrimage) are for ever after called, and esteemed Hoggees, which signifies holy men.

And here the thing being rightly and seriously considered, it is a very great shame that a Mahometan should pray five times every day, that Pagans and Heathens should be very frequent in their devotions ; and Christians (who only can hope for good answers in prayer) so negligent in that great prevailing duty. For a Mahometan to pray five times every day, what diversions soever he hath to hinder him, and for a Christian to let any thing interrupt his devotion ; for a Mahometan to pray five times a day, and for one that is called a Christian not to pray (some believing themselves above this and other ordinances) five times in a week, a month, a year.

But this will admit less cause of wonder, if we consider how that many bearing the names
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of Christians cannot pray at all; those I mean which are profane and filthy, and who live as if there were no God to hear, or to judge, and no Hell to punish. Such as these can but babble, they cannot pray; for they blaspheme the name of God, while they may think they adore it.

I shall add here a short story: It happened that I once having some discourse with a Mahometan of good quality, and speaking with him about his frequent praying, I told him; that if himself, and others of his profession who did believe it as a duty to pray so often, could conclude their petition in the name of Jesus Christ, they might find much comfort in those their frequent performances, in that great duty: He answered, that I needed not to trouble myself with that; for they found as great comfort as they could desire in what they did: And presently he would needs infer this relation.

There was (said he) a most devout Musselman, who had his habitation in a great city where Mahomet was zealously professed, and that man for many years together spent his whole day in the mosque, or church; in the mean time, he minding not the world at all, became so poor that he had nothing left to buy bread for his family; yet notwithstanding his poor condition, he was resolved still to ply his devotions; and in a morning (when he perceived there was nothing at all left for
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the further subsistence of himself and household) took a solemn leave of his wife and children, resolving for his part to go and pray and die in the mosque, leaving his family (if no relief came) to famish at home. But that very day he put on this resolution, there came to his house in his absence a very beautiful young man, (as he appeared to be) who brought and gave unto his wife a very good quantity of gold, bound up in a white napkin, telling her, that God had now remembered her husband, and sent him his pay for his constant pains taken in his devotion; with that charging her not to stand for her husband, for though he had taken such a solemn leave of her that morning, yet he would come home to her again that night; and so he departed from her. The woman presently bought in some necessaries for her house, (for they had eaten up all before) and further made some good provision for her husband against his coming home in the evening, for so he did; and finding all his family chearful and merry, his wife presently told him that there had been such a one there, as before described, and left so much gold behind him, with that fore-mentioned message delivered with it. Her husband presently replied, that it was the Angel Gabriel, sent from God (for the Mahometans speak much of that angel); and he further added, that himself had nothing to bring home unto her but a little gret, or sand, which he

he took up in his way homeward, and bound it in his girdle; which he presently opening to shew her, it was all turn'd into precious stones, which amounted to a very great value in money; the seventh part of which, as of his gold likewise, he presently gave to the poor; for, said he, a Musselman is very charitable; and then insisted, that if we do not neglect God, he will not forget us, but when we stand most in need of help will supply us. Unto which conclusion we may all subscribe; leaving the premises that are laid down in that story, unto those that dare believe them.

The Mahometans say, that they have the books of Moses; but they have very much corrupted that story, in ascribing that to Ishmael, which is said of Isaac, Gen. xxii. as if Ishmael should have been sacrificed, not Isaac; (of which more afterward.) They say that they have the book of David's Psalms, and some writings of Solomon, with other parcels of the Old Testament; which, if so, I believe are made much to vary from the original.

They speak very much in the honour of Moses, whom they call *Mosâ Calâm-Alla*, Moses, the publisher of the mind of God. So of Abraham, whom they call *Ibrahim Calâm-Alla*, Abraham, the honoured or friend of God.

So of Ishmael, whom they call *Ismâel*, the sacrifice of God. So of Jacob, whom they call *Israhel*, the blessing of God. So of Joseph,

whom they call *Eesoff*, the betrayed for God. So of David, whom they call *Dabood*, the lover and praiser of God. So. of Solomon, whom they call *Selymon*, the wisdom of God; all expressed as the former, in short Arabian words, which they sing in ditties unto their particular remembrances.

And by the way, many of the Mahometans there are called by the names of Moosa, or Ibrahim, or Ismal, or Acob, or Eesoff, or Dahood, or Selymon: So others are called Mahmud, or Chaan, which signifies the Moon, or Frisla, which signifies a Star, &c. And they call their women by the names of flowers or fruit of their country, or by the names of spices or odours, or of pearls, or precious stones, or else by other names of pretty or pleasing signification. As Job named one of his daughters Jemimah, which signifies clear as the day; the second Keziah, which signifies pleasant as cassia, or sweet spice; and the name of the third, Keren-happuch, signifying the horn, or strength of beauty, Job xlii. 14.

But I'll return again to that people, that I may acquaint my reader with one thing of 'special observation, and 'tis this: That there is not one among the Mahometans (of any understanding) which at any time mentions the name of our blessed Saviour, called there Hazaret Eesa, the Lord Christ, but he makes mention of it with high reverence and respect:
For

they say of Christ, that he was a good man, and a just, that he lived without sin, that he did greater miracles than ever any before, or since him; nay further they call him *Rba-bow-Alla*, the breath of God; but how he should be the son of God; cannot conceive, and therefore cannot believe.

Perhaps the Socinians first took that their opinion from these, which bids them to have every thing they receive as truth, to be cleared up unto them by the strength of reason, as if there were no need of the exercise of faith.

And truly (I must needs confess) that to believe the incarnation of the son of God, is one of the hardest and greatest tasks for faith to encounter withal: That God should be made a man, that this man Christ should be born of a virgin, that life should spring from death, and that from contempt and scorn, triumph and victory should come, &c. But Christians must bind up all their thoughts, as to these, in that excellent meditation of Picus Mirandula, saying, *Mirandam Dei Incarnationem*, &c. Concerning that admirable and wonderful incarnation of Christ, the Son of God, I shall not say much, it being sufficient for me, as for all others that look for benefit by Christ, to believe, that he was begotten, and that he was born. These are articles of our faith; and we are not Christians if we believe them not.

It may seem very strange, therefore, that the Mahometans (who understand themselves

better) should have such a very high esteem of our blessed Saviour Christ, and yet think us who profess ourselves Christians, to be so unworthy, or so unclean, as that they will not eat with us any thing that is of or of our dressing, nor yet of any thing that is dressed in our vessels.

There are more particulars, which challenge a room in this section as their proper place; But because I would not have it swell too big, I shall here part it, and speak further,

SECTION XVI.

Of their Votaries; where of the voluntary and sharp Penances that People undergo. Of their Lent; and of their Fasts and Feasts; &c. &c.

AMong the Mahometans, there are many votaries, they call Dervises, who relinquish the world, and spend all their days following in solitude and retiredness, expecting a recompence (as they say, and are very well content to suffer and wait for it) in that better life. Those very sharp and very strict penances, which many of this people voluntarily undergo, far exceed all those the Romanists boast of; for instance, there are some who live alone upon the tops of hills, (which are cloathed or covered with trees, and stand

stand remote from any company) and there spend the whole time of their following lives in contemplation, stirring not at all from the places they first fix on, but *adrequiesce natura*, crying out continually in these or the like expressions, *Alla Achabar*, &c. that is, God Almighty look upon me, I love thee, I love not the world, but I love thee, and I do all this for thy sake, look upon me, God Almighty.

These, after they first retire, never suffer the razor or scissars to come again upon their heads; and they let their nails grow like unto birds claws, as it was written of Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. iv. when he was driven out from the society of men.

This people, after their retirement, will choose rather to starve than to stir from their cells; and therefore they are relieved by the charity of others, who take care to send them some very raven covering for their bodies (for it must be such, otherwise they will not accept of it) when they stand in need thereof; and something for their bodily sustenance, which must be of their coarser food, otherwise they will not take it, and no more of that at one time than what is sufficient for the present support of nature.

Some again impose long times of fasting upon themselves, and will take no food at all, till the strength of nature in them be almost quite spent.

And others there are amongst them they call religious men, who wear nothing about them but to hide their shame, and these (like the mendicant friars) beg for all they eat. They usually live in the skirts or outskides of great cities, or towns, and are like the man our blessed Saviour mentions, Luke. viii. 27. about the city of the Gadarens, which had Devils, and wore no cloaths, neither abode in any house but in the tombs. And so do these, making little fires in the day, sleeping at night in the warm ashes thereof, with which they besmear and discolour their bodies. These Ash-men will sometimes take intoxicating things, which make them talk wildly and strangely; (as some of our Quakers do in their strange distempers) and then the foolish common people will flock about them, and (believing they then prophesy) hearken to them with all attention.

A very great difference 'twixt that people and ours,; for there they call mad-men prophets, and amongst us there are many prophets which are accounted but mad-men.

There are another sort among them, called Mendees, carried on likewise by mistakes, and misconceiving in religion; who like the priests of Baal, mentioned 1 K. xviii. "often cut their flesh with knives and launcets."

Others again I have there seen, who meerly out of devotion put such massy fetters of iron upon their legs, as that they can scarce stir with them; and then, covered with blue mantles,

mantles, (the colour of mourners in those parts) at fast as they are able go many miles in pilgrimage, bare-foot upon the hot parching ground, to visit the sepulchres of their deluding saints ; thus putting themselves upon very great hardships, and submitting unto extreme sharp penances, and all to no purpose. O what pains will superstition put men unto ! It is said of Idolaters, " that they hasten after another God," Ps. xvi. 4. or they make post haste after him. The Philistines flock'd early, and in troops, to the temple of their Dagon ; a shame that Christians should go singly, and slowly, and many times late, (as they do) unto the house of God, dealing with religious duties, as school-boys do very often with their lessons, in minding every thing more than the business they are about. What pity it is to see people so industrious in their mis-devotion, in doing things very hard to be done, which God never required at their hands ! which may make us to believe, that if they were rightly made acquainted with what God would have them to do, they would be careful in doing it.

Further, it is very sad to consider, if we think of many others born in the visible church of Christ, that might be happy, and God's freemen ; yet make themselves the drudges and slaves of Satan, who leads them captive at his will : For the works of their father, the Devil, they will do, though never so full
of

of trouble and difficulty. "The way of transgression is hard." Pr. xiii. 15. Thus the heart set upon covetousness disquiets itself in vain; is early up, late at rest, fares hard, and labours hard, to get a little wealth, and it knows not for whom. So it may be farther said of many gross sinners, who engage themselves far and deeply in other services, or rather drudgeries of the Devil, even wearing themselves to commit iniquity: As of starv'd beggars, who make that a calling, which God makes a curse, to be fugitives and vagabonds; who are so in love with their rags, and scabs, and lice, as that they will set themselves in no good way, wherein they might live comfortably. Certainly abundance of these, as of others I before named, (their present state and condition rightly considered) endure two Hells, one here, and the other hereafter.

But to return again to those Indian votaries who undergo such hard things, and out of this gross mistake, that they do God good service in the things they do. Concerning which actions, Lucretius (though accounted an Epicurean and an Atheist) in his first book, speaks to purpose about the error of religion.

— — — *Sapius olim*
Religio peperit scelerata atque impia facta.

— — — *oft' of old,*
Religion bred acts impiously bold.

And

And presently after he instances in Iphigenia, sacrificed to Diana by her own father, to procure a wind, for the Grecians more safe and more speedy passage to Troy.

*Nam sublata virum manibus tremebundaque ad
aras*

*Deducta est, non ut, solenni more sacrarum
Perfesto, possit clara comitari Hymenao;
Sed Casta incestu, nubendi tempore, in ipso,
Hestia concideret mactatu mista Parentis:
Hæc ut classi felix faustusque daretur.
Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*

*For in mens arms borne to the altar, she
Was trembling brought; not with fair rights to be
To famous Hymen led: but the chaste maid,
Now ripe for marriage, foully thus betray'd,
Fell a sad sacrifice by her own fire,
So a safe voyage might the fleet acquire;
To that dire fact persuaded on
By error of Religion.*

When Dionysius, the tyrant, had a safe and a prosperous voyage by sea, as he was returning home from the spoil of a rich temple, he presently concluded that the Gods lov'd sacrilege.

Honestis quædam scelera successus facit.

Scn. Trag.

*Thus good success
Could rapine bless.*

Tamerlane,

Tamerlane, the Mogul's great ancestor (of whom more afterward) might have drawn as good arguments from success as ever any before or since him. And who is so acquainted with the history of the Turks, as with many other people who have been great in the world, (yet not own'd at all by Almighty God) might from their stories draw the like conclusions. But such as have learned Christ, and consequently know better, are taught to conclude better; they having learned of wisdom to make demonstrative syllogisms *a priori* from causes; and not from folly to make paralogisms *a posteriori*, from events and successes.

If I enlarge any more on this argument, I must further add, that to judge any cause good, because the success is so, is to conclude besides and against the rule of Christ, who commands us to judge not according to appearance, but to judge righteous judgement, Joh. vii. 24. for there is very much deceit in appearance.

The appearance, or face, is of things, as of men; *fronti nulla fides* is an old proverb, we see men's faces, we cannot see their hearts, and therefore there is no certain judgement to be drawn from their countenances. No more can we make a judgement from the face of things, 'till we look further into them; because, *vitia virtutes mentiuntur*, vice too often makes a mask of the skin of virtue, and looks lovely, like some houses of entertainment,
that

that have Angels for their signs, and Devils for their guests.

A man is naturally apt to think that God is with him while he prospers, though in evil : And 'tis observed of wicked men, that they have enjoyed as much, nay more than their hearts could wish. The posterity of Cain, before the flood, were the mighty men, the men of name, the men of renown, the triumphing men in that old world ; and ever since, that spurious race have been the great engrossers of outward prosperity : “ Behold (saith the Psalmist, lxxiii. 12.) these are the ungodly that prosper in the world ;” but many of the mercies they receive, if not all, come out of God’s left hand, not in love, but anger ; as the malicious Israelites had quails in the wilderness, not to feed them, so much as to choak them ; they being dealt withal herein much like as the old Heathens dealt with their sacrifices, first they fed them, then they crowaed them, and then they killed them ; the substance of which I find thus render’d,

*Thus beasts for sacrifice they feed ;
First they are crown’d, and then they bleed.*

Thus God advanced and lifted up Pharaoh, not in mercy, but displeasure, that he might first shew his judgements before him, and then upon him : “ Thou hast lifted me up, and cast me down ;” lifted me up very high, that my fall might be greater.

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It is most true, that nothing comes to pass, neither can be done, without the knowledge and permission of Almighty God : Thus good things are done by his privity, assistance, and approbation ; things that are evil, by his privity, permission, but not liking. The wicked are called the sword of God, Ps. xvii. &c. they do his will, in executing his vengeance : So Babylon was called the hammer, and Assyria the rod of the Lord : But these swords, and hammers, and rods, when they have done the service which was appointed for them to do, are thrown into the fire, and meet with greater vengeance afterward, than they had formerly executed. They did the secret will of God, in doing what they did ; as no doubt but the Devil did in afflicting of Job, in winnowing of Peter, in buffeting of Paul ; but his recompence for these, and all his other works, is chains under darkness, and that for ever and ever. And thus Judas did the will of God, in betraying his innocent master, the Son of God, and consequently fasthering the redemption of mankind ; but his reward was sad for so doing ; his end, perdition.

And therefore, in all our undertakings, we must learn wisely to distinguish 'twixt God's approving and permitting will ; the first of these must limit us in all the things we set about, his signified, declared, approved will, laid down in his word : We may do the will of God otherwise, as it were, against his will ;
do

do the will of God, and have little thanks for our labour in doing things which God permits, but approves not.

It must needs be therefore a sin, transcendently wicked, for any who know God and his truth, to entitle God and religion unto actions that are evil; by fastening prosperous wickedness upon him, as if they did at all countenance such things as religion strictly forbids, and Almighty God perfectly abhors.

Religion is the best armour in the world, but the worst cloak; and all they who thus put it on, shall, first or last, find no more comfort in it than Ahab found in the harness he put on him as a disguise; as well as for his defence; 1. K. xxii. which he had no sooner don, but immediately an arrow (though shot at random) found a passage through the joints thereof, and so carried away his life.

But to return again to these Mahometans: They keep a solemn Lent, they call the Ramajan, or Ramazan, which begins the first New-moon which happens in September, and so continues during that whole moon. And all that time, those that are strict in their religious fasts, eat their women, and will not take either wine or drink any day during that time, so long as the sun is above their horizon; but after the sun is set they eat at pleasure. The last day of their Ramajan, they consecrate as a day of mourning, to the memory of their deceased friends, when I have observed many of the

the meaner sort seem to make most bitter lamentation. But when that day of their general mourning is ended, and begins to die into night, they fire an innumerable company of lamps, and other lights, which they hang or fix very thick, and set upon the tops of their houses, and all other most conspicuous places near their great tanks, that are surrounded with buildings, where those lights are doubled by their reflection upon the water; and when they are all burnt out, the ceremony is done, and the people take food.

The day after this Ramjan is finally ended, the most devout Mahometans, in a solemn manner, assemble to their mosques, where by their Moolaas some selected parts of the Alcoran are publicly read unto them, which book the Moolaas never touch without an expression of much outward reverence.

For their works of charity, there are some rich men that build Sarraes in great cities and towns (spoken of before) where passengers may find house-room, and that freely, without a return of any recompence, wherein themselves and goods may be in safety.

Others make wells and tanks for the public benefit, or maintain servants, which continually attend upon road ways that are much travelled, and there offer unto passengers water for themselves and beasts; which water they bring thither in great skins, hanging upon the backs of their buffaloes; which, as it is
freely

freely given, so it must be freely taken, by all those who desire to refresh themselves by it.

There are some who build rich monuments, to preserve the memories of those whom they have esteemed eminent for their austerity and holiness; these they call Pæres, or saints, amongst whom some of those before mentioned help to fill their number, who sequester themselves from the world (as they think) and spend their life alone upon the tops of hills, or in other obscure corners.

Now, lastly, for a close of this section:— I shall intreat my reader to call to mind, and to take a second and a very serious view of the reverence and awe which seems (so far as eyes can judge) to be in that people; reverence and awe (I say) of the Majesty before whom they appear when they are in their devotions.— Whose most submissive carriage in that duty doth very much condemn infinite numbers of those, who profess Christ while they are in religious services, rushing upon, and continuing in those holy duties, without any seeming reverence or regard at all of the dreadful Majesty before whom they appear; as if God were not, or as if he were not worth the regarding; as if death, and Hell, and judgment; an everlasting separation from the presence of God for evermore, were terms merely invented to affright people withal, and as if there were no such places, and no such things.

I confess, it is true, that external ceremonies, by bowing the body in the performances of religious duties, and the like, may be found in the falshood of religion; and when, a man rests in these alone easy performances, it is to compliment with Almighty God, and not to worship him; yet as he looks for more, than these in our humble addresses to him, so he expects these likewise; for without all doubt, the most submissive gesture of the body, in this case, may both express and further the piety of the soul,

And therefore, though the God of Spirits doth most regard the Soul of our devotions, and looks most at the Heart, while holy duties are performing; yet it is true likewise, that it is not only unmannerly, but most irreligious, to be misgestured in them; the careless and uncomely carriage of the body, in this case, making the soul to be prophane, and signifying it so to be. "To him will I look, even to him, that is poor and of a contrite spirit, that trembleth at my words," Es. lxvi. 2. I shall therefore never be of their mind in this case, who think the heart may be devout, when the outward man shews no regard,

Sancta Sanctè, holy duties must be done in an holy manner, great reverence must be used in them; and therefore, when the hands, knees, mouth, eyes, and tongue, forget to do their offices, as they should, they discover an ungodly, as well as a negligent heart, that
should

should command them to do otherwise; for as God will be worshipped in spirit, so in the outward man likewise; otherwise St. Paul might have spared that precept, which commands thus; 1 Cor. vi. 20. "Glorify God in your bodies, and in your spirit, which are God's;" as if he had said, both are bought with a price; the body redeemed as well as the soul; and therefore God looks for and expects reverence from both.

In all our addresses to God, he expects at once familiarity and fear; familiarity in the expression of our prayers, for we speak not to an implacable, an inexorable judge; but to a tender father, and there fear and reverence to accompany those expressions; hence it is said that "God is greatly to be feared in the assembly of his saints, and to be had in reverence of all that are about him;" Ps. lxxxix. 7. and "serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice with trembling;" Ps. ii. 11. and again; "let all the earth fear the Lord, let all the inhabitants of the world stand in awe of him," Ps. xxxiii. 8. in awe of him at all times, and in all places, but especially there, where he is in a more special manner present; as he hath promised to be in his ordinances. "The Lord is in his holy temple" Heb. ii. 20. When Jacob was in his journey to Padan-Aram, he had a vision in the way, which signified and shewed unto him nothing but love, mercy, comfort, and peace; yea, he cried out "how dreadful is

this place !" &c. Gen. xxviii. 17. Almighty God is altogether as awful to his own, in his mercies, as he is in his judgments. Great is thy mercy, O Lord, that thou mayest be feared, not slighted; not neglected, but feared: For to them who have a thorough acquaintance with God, there is no less majesty shines in the favours of God, than in his judgments and justice; the wicked heart never fears God, but thundering, or shaking the earth; never but then, when he appears most terrible; but the good can dread him in his sun-shine, when he appears most gracious; and so they do, and so they must.

Primus in orbe Deos fecit Timor,—is a saying that hath much truth in it, though spoken by a Heathen; because the foundation of religion is fear, without which there can be no religion; as Lactantius wisely argues, saying, *quod non metuitur contemnitur, quod contemnitur non colitur*; that which is not feared, is contemned, and that which is contemned cannot be worshipped; from whence it comes to pass, that religion and earthly power must needs be very much supported by fear. First, Religion expressed in all our duties to God, "if I be your father, where is my honour? if your master, where is my fear?" Mat. i. 6. Secondly, obedience manifested in our subjection to men, unto the powers here below, whom God hath appointed to bring and to keep men in order, is very much regulated by fear;

fear ; for were it not for this prop that holds up government, it would presently be dissolved ; were it not for this curb to restrain men, for that cord to lead some, and to compel and bind others, all societies of men would presently run into disorder, kingdoms and common-wealths would immediately come to confusion.

I shall conclude this digression with a most remarkable example : When Ehud came to Eglon, (though an idolater and a tyrant) and told him that he had a message to him from God, Judg. iii. 20. he arose presently out of his seat, or chair of state ; and though the unweildiness of his fat body was such, that he could not arise with readiness and ease, yet no sooner doth he hear news of a message from God, but he riseth as fast as he was able from his throne, (that he might not shew himself unmannerly in the business of God) and reverently attends to the tenor thereof ; though it proved as sharp a message as could be delivered, or received.

Now, how shall those Mahometans before mentioned, and this Heathen man's carriage, condemn thousands, nay most of those which call themselves Christians, that shew no more reverence nor regard at the hearing of messages from God, whatsoever they be, than if they heard an old wife's fable ; that neither when they speak unto God by the mouth of their ministers, nor when God speaks to them

by the same mouth, shew any outward regard, reverence, or respect; such an Atheism for the generality possesseth their hearts.— But I return again to that people; and in the next place shall speak,

SECTION XVII.

Of the Marriages of the Mahometans, and of their Poligamy, &c.

AMONGST many other things that confirm the Mahometans in their irreligion, this certainly is not the least, the indulgence which Mahomet gives them to take more wives than one, (for they may take four if they please) and that further promise which that monstrous seducer hath made unto his followers, of a fleshly Paradise hereafter, wherein he will provide for them all wives which shall have large rolling eyes, which they look upon in that sex as a great beauty. And it is a very suitable comfort for such as walk so much after the flesh.

For Poligamy, or the having of more wives than one, Lamech, a great grand-child of Cain, was the first that brought it into the world, Gen. iv. 19. And it was first brought into the church by Abraham; which act of his, as of others after him, (good men in their generation) though it found permission, never had

had approbation from Almighty God. And further, though under the times of the law it found some connivance, yet since the gospel there hath been no such custom in any of the churches of Christ.

And in those former times, it was the charge of Almighty God to the Kings of Israel, even before they were, "that they should not multiply wives" Deut. xvi. 17. yet Solomon (who in this discovered a great deal of folly, as in other things abundance of wisdom) went further beyond the bounds of that law than any other whom God owns in scripture. The poor man in his later age lost himself amongst an house full of wives; for the story saith, "that he loved many strange women," 1 Kin. xi. 1. Every word had nothing but bane in it; he loved women, many women, outlandish, idolatrous women, and these not only had, but doated on, he being so taken with their persons, that he humour'd them in their sins: and if one woman in the beginning undid all mankind, it is no great marvel if so many women did so much mischief to one Solomon.

The Abissins say, that when the Queen of Sheba came to visit Solomon, she returned back with child by him, from whose issue (they further say) have come the race of their Kings ever since. But here I leave any reader to believe in that as much and no more than he please. This is clear in the sacred story, that Solomon, though he had a

thousand wives and concubines, he had but three children, Rehoboam his only son, and Taphath and Basmah, his two daughters, 1 K. iv. 11. 15. an evident sign that God never approved of his multitude of wives, when by his blessing on the single and holy wedlock of others, he hath multiplied them in a very happy and numerous issue.

In the old world, when the "sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, they took wives of all that they liked" Gen. vi. 2, and these multiplied not children so much as iniquities.

Sampson, in the choice of his wife, had no other guides and counsellors but his own eyes. He went down to Timnah, and saw a daughter of the Philistines, and presently he speaks to his father, "get her for me to wife, for she pleaseth me well" Judg. xiv. 1. 2. He who follows nothing but his eyes in the choice of a wife, that marries a beauty, or a face, or a portion, may after find a Philistine in his bed, and be as unhappy in his choice as Sampson was.

Sampson sees a woman. (and we will suppose her beautiful) and as soon as ever his eyes fix on her, he must presently have her to wife. Wisdom and passion cannot dwell under one roof, for a man cannot love, nor desire, nor mourn, nor grieve, nor rejoice, over much, and be wise; for when the heart is taken up very much with the latter, there is no room left in it for the former.

"The

“The King’s daughter is all glorious within”
 Psal. xlv. 13, and love, that reciprocally settles upon this inward beauty, must needs be lasting. *Magnes amoris Amor*; love in this case is the load-stone of love, so attractive that it draws love to it, and holds it fast; when as he who marries a portion, or a face, finds it often otherwise. The portion that flies, and the beauty that decays; *tres veniunt rugæ*. *Juv.* the forehead begins to be wrinkled whereon love was first settled, and in those wrinkles or furrows it is immediately buried.

But yet for all this, as men are generally valued amongst men by the pound and acre,

——— *Quot possidet agri*

Jugera;

Juv. Sat. 3.

So in the choice of wives, virgins are usually thus rated,

Protinus ad censum; de moribus ultima fiet

Quæstio;

Juv.

Men commonly asking the question at the wrong end; as first, what hath she? and then, what is she? concerning which a gentleman of this age wrote wittily, but it is good earnest,

Who wooes a wife for state, or face,

May win a mare, to lose a race.

The truth is, that many a child hath been cast away upon riches, and therefore wealth
 in

In people's matches should be as some grains or scruples in a ballance, superadded unto the gold of virtuous qualities, to weigh down the scales: For when it is made the substance of the weight, and good qualities but the appendants, there is one earth poised with another; which whensoever it is done, it is a wonder if either the children prove not the parents sorrow, or the parents theirs.

It was Balaam's most damnable counsel, to make the men of Israel wantons by the beauties of Moab, that then they might be soon made idolaters; and so they were: Numb. xxv. Sin commonly enters in at the eye, and so creeps down to the heart; and therefore that soul lies open unto very much hazard, when a covenant is not made and kept with the eyes; which if Sampson had done, he that had so much strength, had not discovered so much weakness; and Solomon (whom I before nam'd) so much renowned for wisdom, had not manifested so much folly, in miscarrying so fearfully by wives, which turned away his heart from God; and therefore when he was come again to himself, he freely confesseth to all the world, Eccles. vii. 28. that he found more bitter than death, the woman, whose heart is as snares and nets, and her hands as bands; who so pleaseth God shall escape from her, but the sinner shall be taken by her.

But the Mahometans trouble not themselves with these thoughts; for though some of that people,

people, as the strict votaries there, marry not at all, and the Moolas content themselves with one wife, and so do some others; yet they that please may have four wives, and as many women beside, as they can get and keep, whom they command as wives, and this liberty there is denied to none that will make use of it.

I remember that my Lord Ambassador had a servant of that nation, who desired leave to be absent one day, and being asked why, he told us, that he was then to marry a wife, though he had three living then, which a man would think enough for his means, but five shillings a moon, (the usual pay of servants there, as before I observed) to maintain himself, and all the rest of his family.

Often have I heard this question put, how these Mahometans can do with so many wives, some of which they keep pent up in little cottages or tents; and in other places and parts of the world, where men's dwellings are very large and spacious, there is scarce room enough to be found for one wife, in a great house.

The Mahometans who have most wives and women, are most jealous, and their jealousy such, as that they will not suffer the brothers, or fathers of their wives to come to them, or to have any speech with them, except it be in their presence. And a continued custom by this restraint hath made it odious for such women, as have the reputation of honesty, to be seen at any time by any man, besides their
own

own husbands, or by those before named, and by them but very seldom. But if they dishonour their husbands beds, or being unmarried are found incontinent and filthy, professing chastity, rather than they shall want the severest punishment, their own brothers hands will be first against them to take away their lives; and for so doing, shall be commended, but not questioned.

The women there of the greater quality have eunuchs, instead of men, to wait upon them, who in their minority are deprived of all that might provoke jealousy.

Here is a free toleration for harlots, who are enlisted and enrolled (as they say) before they can have liberty to keep such an open house. Which creatures in general there, and so all the world over, whosoever they be, embrace those they pretend to love, as monkeys and apes do their little ones, for they kill them with kindness; those base prostitutes are as little ashamed to entertain, as others are openly to frequent their houses.

Other creatures (as they say) are there kept for base and abominable ends, many of those nations being deeply engaged in those sins of the Gentiles, Rom. 1. in doing things which should not be named, and make no scruple at all for their so doing, *ut honeste peccare videantur*, (as Lactantius speaks) as if they might sin honestly.

Some of the finer sort of those base strumpets before named, at certain times appear
in

in the presence of the Mogul, before whom they sing their wanton songs, playing on their timbrels.

The marriages of all the Mahometans are solemnized with some pomp; for after the Moo-laa hath joined their hands, and performed other ceremonies, and bestowed on the parties some words of benediction, (which is done in the evening) immediately after the night coming on, they begin their jollity, the man on horseback, be he poor or rich, with his kindred and friends about him, many lights before him, with drums and wind instruments, and some mixt pastimes to increase the merriments. The bride she follows with her women friends in coaches covered; and after they have thus passed the most eminent places of the city or town they live in, return to the place of the married couple's abode, where (they say) if the parties be able they make some slight entertainment for them; immediately after which they all disperse, and the shew is over.

Women there have a very great happiness, above all I have heard of, in their easy bringing forth of children into the world; for there it is a thing very common, for women great with child, one day to ride, carrying their infants in their bodies, and the next day to ride again, carrying them in their arms.

How those of the greater quality order their little children when they are very young, I could

could not observe; but those of the meaner sort keep them naked for some years after they are born, covering them only, and that but some times, with slight callico-mantles.

The Mahometans (as I have before observed) who please so to do, may take to themselves each four wives; and that filthy liberty given unto them by their fleshly Mahomet, allows them in it. I have heard of some in this nation, of late times, who have been married here to more than so many at once; but that wickedness here is not (as amongst them) committed by a law, but by a law-made capital, and so punished.

Yet there are amongst us, of the greater sort; (and made so by their luxuriant estates) which though they take but one wife, whom they marry (they say) for convenience, that they may have heirs to inherit (if their sin consume not all their patrimony); but some of these believing the bonds of wedlock too strait, must have one other at the least, whom they call a mistress (too good a name for such a creature); and though in this case the wife bears the man's name, the prostitute hath the greatest share by far of his affection; who will sometimes say that he cannot love his wife; be she never so amiable and lovely; and only for this reason, because she is his wife; and if she were not so, could be at any expence to gain her company. To what an height of wickedness can licentiousness raise up a man,

in making him, to urge such a relation, as a wife (and because a wife) to be the only reason of his dislike, or disaffection; which should be the firmest bond of his love. A strange expression, which cannot possibly come out of the mouths of any, but of such who (if they think as they speak) are so forward in their journey, as that they are come very near unto the very brink of Hell.

The eldest son they have by any of their married wives, hath a prerogative above all the rest, whom their other children call *Budda Bii*, their great brother. And so much of the marriages of their children, and of their births: In the next place I shall speak.

SECTION XVIII.

Of their Burials; of their Mourning for their Dead; and of their stately Sepulchres and Monuments.

FOR the Mahometans, it is their manner to wash the bodies of their dead before they inter them: An antient custom, as it should seem, among the Jews; for it is said of *Dorcas*, that after she was dead, they washed her body, as a preparative to her burial, *Act. ix. 7.*

They lay up none of the bodies of their dead in their mosques, or churches (as before),
but

but in some open place in a grave, which they dig very deep and wide; a Jewish custom, likewise, to carry the bodies of their dead to bury them out of their cities and towns, Luke vii. 12.

So over the dead Their mourning over their dead is most immoderate; for besides that day of general lamentation, at the end of their Ramjan, or Lent, (before mentioned) they howl and cry many whole days for their friends departed, immediately after they have left the world; and after that time is passed over, many foolish women, so long as they survive, very often in the year, observe set days to renew their mourning for their deceased friends, and as a people without hope, bedew the graves of their husbands, as of other their near relations, with abundance of (seemingly) affectionate tears; as if they were like those mourning women, mention'd Jer. ix. 17. who seemed to have tears at command, and therefore were hired to mourn and weep in their solemn lamentations.

And when they thus lament over their dead, they will often put this question to their dead and dead carcases, why they would die? they having such loving wives, such loving friends, and many other comforts; as if it had been in their power to have rescued themselves from that most impartial wounding hand of death.

Which carriage of theirs deserves nothing but censure and pity; though if it be not thea-

theatrical, we may much wonder at it, and say of it, as it was said of the mourning in the floor of Atad, Gen. 50. 11. that it is a grievous mourning; or as the mourning of Hadadrimmon, in the valley of Megiddon, Zech. xii. 11. if we take those lamentations only in a literal sense.

But to speak unto this as a Christian; certainly the Apostle, who forbids immoderate mourning for friends departed, 1 Thes. iv. 13. employs and allows of that mourning which is moderate.

To behold a great funeral, where there are abundance of mourning garments, and no weeping eyes, is not a good sight; for a man to die as Jehoiakim, (a very bad son of an excellent good father) of whom it was sadly prophesied, that he should die without lamentation, *non plangent eum, Eheu frater*, they shall not lament for him, saying, ah my brother! his ashes shall not be moistened with one tear; and to be buried as Jehoikam was, with the burial of an ass, Jer. ii. 18. 19. is very sad: And doubtless it had been better for a man never to have been born, than to live undesired, and to die unlamented: For a man to run a long race through the world, and to leave no token of good behind him, but to be like an arrow shot by a strong arm up into the air, wherein it flies a great circuit, yet immediately after it is fallen, it cannot be discern'd that it was ever there; I may say of
V such

such a one, that he was born out of due time, or rather that it had been good for him if he had not been born at all.

But now further concerning their places of burial: Many Mahometans of the greatest quality in their life time provide fair sepulchres for themselves and their nearest friends, compassing with a firm wall a good circuit of ground near some tank, (before spoken of) about which they delight to bury their dead; or else they close in a place for this use, near springs of water, that may make pleasant fountains, near which they erect little mosques or churches, and near them tombs built round, or four square, or in six or eight squares, with round vaults, or canopies of stone over head; all which are excellently well wrought, and erected upon pillars, or else made close, to be entered by doors every way, under which the bodies of their dead be interred; the rest of that ground, thus circled in, they plant with fruit trees, and further set therein all their choicest flowers, as if they would make Elysian fields, (such as the poets dream'd of) wherein their souls might take repose.

Thus to bury (as it should seem) was an ancient custom; for it is written of Manassch, King of Judah, that he was buried in the garden of his own house; so of his son Amon, that he was buried in that garden likewise, 2 King. 21. 18. and 26 verses; thus Joseph of Arimathea had his sepulchre in his garden, and
it

it was well placed there, that when he was in the place of his greatest delight, his meditations might be seasoned with the thoughts of his death.

There are many goodly monuments, which are richly adorned, built (as before was observed) to the memory of such as they have esteemed Pæres, or saints, (of whom they have a large calendar) in which are lamps continually burning, attended by votaries, unto whom they allow pensions for the maintaining of those lights; and many (transported there with wild devotion) daily resort to those monuments; there to contemplate the happiness those Pæres (as they imagine) now enjoy. *See W. Hodges*

And certainly of all the places that empire affords, there are none that minister more delight than some of their burying places do; neither do they bestow so much cost, nor shew so much skill in architecture, in any other structures, as in these.

Now amongst many very fair piles, there dedicated to the remembrance of their dead, the most famous one is at Secandra, a village three miles from Agra; it was begun by Achabar-sha, the late Mogul's father, (who there lies buried) and finished by his son, who since was laid up beside him. The materials of that most stately sepulchre are marble of divers colours, the stones so closely cemented together, that it appears to be but one continued stone, built high like a pyramid, with many

many curiosities about it, and a fair mosque by it; the garden wherein it stands very large (as before) and compassed about with a wall of marble. This most sumptuous pile, of all the structures that vast monarchy affords, is most admired by strangers. Tom Coryat had a most exact view thereof, and so have many other Englishmen had; all which have spoken very great things of it.

And if we here step aside, to look into other countries and stories, we may observe much to this purpose (though none that I have ever heard of like that I last named) where many, whose foregoing lives have little deserved those following remembrances, yet after death have had their bodies lodged in rich monuments, when others of great worth, and most deserved memory, have been very obscurely buried.

Varro writes of Licinius, or Licinus, but a barber to Augustus Cæsar, who getting wealth, was after his death honoured with a fair monument of marble; when grave and wise Cato had but a small meer stone to cover him, and renowned Pompey had in this kind no remembrance at all; of all whom Varro briefly writes thus:

*Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo,
Pompeius nullo.*——

*Licinus entomb'd under rich marble stone:
Cato a small one had: great Pompey none.*

When

When Julius Cæsar had vanquished Ptolemy, and the distressed King hoped to preserve his life by flying into a boat, there were so many of his soldiers which followed him, that they lost their lives by that very means they hoped to preserve them ; for their too much weight sunk the boat, and they all, with their most unhappy King, were drowned together. Concerning whom, I have what here follows (but a little varied) thus observed to my hand.

*Mixt with Plebeians there a monarch lies,
The last o' th' race of Egypt's Ptolomeys.
Under no covert but the Nile's cold waves ;
No pyramids, nor rich Mansolian graves,
Nor arched vaults, whose structures do excel ;
As his forefathers ashes proudly dwell :
And dead, as living, do their wealth express,
In sumptuous tombs, or gorgeous palaces.*

This was the fate of the last Egyptian monarch : And it is sad to consider, that an Egyptian monarch should be buried under water and mud, and a Roman barber covered with marble,

The like hath been the condition of many others, who have deserved in their generation lasting remembrances in this kind, but have not found them ; when others, who have merited nothing at all, have had much said, and (in that respect) much done for them after death : And therefore one of this age, very eminent for great parts, writing of a great
V 3 man,

man, by place and deserts; but obscurely buried; and observing rich monuments, set off with large and undeserved encomiums, for others, which deserved them not, first blames

— *The flattering stone*
Which oft belies the dead, when he is gone.

And after writes further in relation to him before mentioned, thus:

Let such, as fear their rising, purchase vaults,
And statues, only to excuse their faults.
While thou shalt rise thorough thy easy dust,
At the last day; these would not, but they must:

And truly, if we consider, and impartially read many hyperbolical expressions engraven upon some monuments, we may make a pause at the two first words, which are commonly these, *Here lies*, and write them thus, *Hear lies*, and there make a stop; because little or nothing that follows hath any truth in it. And therefore, though many great and rich men have their bodies after death covered with stately piles, which hold forth many and high commendations of them; yet these cannot keep their names from putrifying and rotting as much above ground, as their bodies do under it: “the name of the wicked shall rot” Prov. x. 17. “his remembrance shall perish from the earth, and he shall have no name in the street” Job xviii. 17. or if their names survive,

survive, and be remembered, they shall but continue their shame, as here lies, or there dwelt, such an oppressor, such a cruel, or such a covetous muckworm, or such a filthy or such a prophane and ungodly person, or such an intemperate drunken sot; whom many times such an inscription would fit, (if it were written over their doors) as Diogenes sometimes caused to be written upon the door of a like intemperate person, who had written before that his house was to be sold, under which that cynic wrote thus: "I thought this house would surfeit so long, that it would spew out its master; for God shall take such away, and pluck them out of their dwelling-places, and root them out of the land of the living; or, as the prophet Jeremiah speaks, their dwelling shall cast them out.

But however, they that deserve true honour, should have it both alive and dead. The memory of the just shall be blessed. Abel was the first that ever tasted death, and he died by violence, he died for religion. Oh how early did martyrdom creep into the world! yet Abel, who hath been so long dead, yet speaketh. Heb. xi. 4. or the testimony which Almighty God gave of that righteous Abel, is yet spoken of, and so shall be, 'till eternity hath swallowed up time.

The remembrance of Josiah is like a composition of the perfume that is made by the art of the apothecary, sweet in all mouths, &c.

and so shall remain, when stately monuments erected to preserve the memory of others, shall be so defaced, that it will not appear where they once were.

In a word ; all Kings and Potentates of the earth, of what nation soever they be, must first or last lay down their swords and scepters, and trophies; at the gates of death. No earthly King shall ever carry his crown further than Simon, the Cyrenian, did the cross, to Golgotha, to the grave; which narrow compass of earth shall at last put a confinement to all their great thoughts, who have believed (as Alexander sometime did) the whole world by much too little to bound their desires.

*Unus Pellæo juveni non sufficit Orbis :
Æstuat infelix angusto limite mundi,
Ut Gyaræ clausus scopulis, parvæque Seriphæ,
Cum tamen a sigulis munitam intraverit urbem,
Sarcophago contentus erat. Mors sola fatetur
Quantula sint hominum corpuscula. Juv. Sat. 10.*

*One world the youth of Pella cannot hold,
He sweats as crouded in this narrow mold.
To close Seriph's and Gyara's rocks confin'd;
But when into the towns, with brick-walls lin'd,
He entered once, there must he rest content
In a strait coffin, and slight monument.
For death alone is that which will confess,
Though great men's minds, their bodies littleness.*

Ecce

Ecce vix totam Hercules implevit urnam ; behold great and victorious Hercules, the subduer of the monsters of the world, when he was dead, and his body resolved into ashes, scarcely fill'd one earthen pitcher.

Death is the great leveller which cuts down, and then lays all people flat before God. Oh if sickness and death could be brib'd, how rich they would be ! this death makes all men to appear as they are men, upon even terms, in the sight of God. The great men there shall not be offered a chair or cushion to sit down, while others stand and wait. " I saw the dead both small and great stand before God " Rev. xxi. 12. " the small and the great are there, and the servant is free from his master " Job iii. 19. The distinction then in that day shall not be 'twixt poor and rich, 'twixt mean and mighty, 'twixt them that are nobly born, and those of low parentage ; but good, and bad, shall be the only terms to distinguish one man from another, before that great tribunal, when every one, of what degree or condition soever he hath been, shall receive from the hands of God according to that which he hath done in the flesh, be it good or evil. When the two cups, the two rewards, the two recompences, shall be impartially distributed ; and none but those which shall be found in Christ accepted, rewarded : In the mean time, as it is in natural rest, it is much better to lodge in a very poor, base and mean cottage, upon

upon a hard open pallat, and there to have sweet and quiet sleep, than in a most sumptuous palace, upon a bed of down, enclosed with the richest curtains that cost can make, and there to have no sleep at all : So for that rest which is eternal, it matters not how meanly and basely the body is laid up, while the soul rests in peace. But if the body be embalmed with all sweet odours and spices, if chested in or covered with marble, or with any thing that is richer, and the soul all this while in torments, condemned to everlasting burnings, what comfort can it take ? no more, nay not so much, as a man who hath a curious crimson silk stocking, drawn over a broken, or a gouty and tormenting leg.

For the saints departed hence, *non tumultuantur*, when their souls are bound up in a bundle of life, and they enjoy the company of all the blessed spirits made perfect, they care not what becomes of their earthly parts. As before they went into their chambers to undress themselves, so now they go down into their graves, to put off their nasty and dirty rags, that when they arise thence they may be invested with robes that are rich and glorious ; well knowing that Christ at the last day will change their vile bodies, and make them like unto his glorious body. While a man's soul is safe, it is not to be heeded what becomes of his body ; that may be slain, but cannot be hurt ; as bold and good Ignatius told his
perfe-

persecutor, *occidere potes, ledere non potes*, thou canst kill me, but thou canst not hurt me. The good man may be stripped of all his temporal riches, but that long enduring substance laid up for him in the Heavens, is above all his enemies reach. They may be degraded here from all their worldly honours, but not of this honour, to be the servants of God. They may be deprived of their lives, but not of their salvation. The executioner, that cut off St. Paul's head, could not take away his crown: And therefore, whether they breath forth their lives out of the mouth of the body, or the mouth of a wound, it is all one—*vivit post lauera virtus*; the virtuous man outlives his life, and after finds, that there are no such lasting monuments, as to be entomb'd in the hearts of the good, who will be ever shewing forth the praises of those which have deserv'd them. And as for earthly monuments, made to continue in the remembrances of the dead,

Quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata Sepulchris;

These shall have their periods as well as men; and when time shall crumble and consume them all into dust and forgetfulness, the righteous shall be had in a lasting, and everlasting remembrance.

And now, reader, I have done with this, and shall proceed to speak more particularly,

SECTION

SECTION XIX.

Of the Hindoos, or Heathens, which inhabit that Empire, &c.

AND for these, the first that I shall take notice of, is, that they agree with others in the world, about the first roots of mankind, Adam and Eve; and the first of them they call *Babba Adam*, or *Adamab*; father Adam; and the second *Manima Hava*; mother Eve: And from Adam they call a man *Adami*.

For Adam they further say, that when his wife was tempted to eat the forbidden fruit, she took it and chew'd it, and then swallowed it down; but when her husband was swallowing it, the hand of God stopt it in his throat; and from hence (they say) that every man hath there an hollow bunch, which women have not.

The names they give to distinguish one man from another, are many, and amongst them these following are very common; as *Juddo*, or *Midas*, or *Cooregee*, or *Hergee*, and the like. *Casturia*, and *Prescottta*, are women's names amongst them; but whether these, as those names they call their men or women by, are names of signification, or only of sound, I know not.

Those

Those Hindoos are a very laborious and an industrious people : these are they which till and plant the ground, and breed the cattle ; these are they which make and sell those curious manufactures, or the cloth and stuff which this empire affords.

This people marry into, and consequently still keep in their own tribes, sects, occupations, and professions : For instance, all brahmins (which are their priests, the sons of all which are priests likewise) are married to brahmins daughters ; so a merchant's son marries a merchant's daughter ; and so men of several trades marry to the same trade. Thus a coolee (who is a tiller of the ground) marries his son to a coolee's daughter ; and so in all other professions they keep themselves to their own tribes and trades, not mixing with any other ; by which means they never advance themselves higher than they were at first.

They take but one wife, and of her they are not so fearful and jealous as the Mahometans are of their several wives and women, for they suffer their wives to go abroad whither they please. They are married very young, about six or seven years old, their parents making matches for them ; who lay hold of every opportunity to bestow their children, because confin'd to their own tribes they have not such variety of choice as otherwise they might have ; and when they attain to the age of thirteen or fourteen, or fifteen years at the most, they bed together.

Their

Their marriages are solemnized (as those of the Mahometans) with much company, and noise; but with this difference, that both the young couple ride openly on horseback, and for the most part they are so little, that some go on their horses sides to hold them up from falling. They are bedeckt, or strew'd all over their cloathing, with the choice flowers of that country, fastened in order all about their garments.

For their habits, they differ very little from the Mahometans, but are very like them civilly clad; but many of their women wear rings on their toes, and therefore go barefoot. They wear likewise broad rings of brass, or better metal, upon their wrists and small of their legs, to take off and on.

They have generally (I mean the women) the flaps or tips of their ears bored when they are young; which holes, daily extended and made wider, by things put and kept in them for that purpose, at last become so large, as that they will hold rings, hollowed on the outside like pulleys, for their flesh to rest in, that are as broad in their circumference, some of them, (I dare say) as little saucers. But though those fashions of theirs seem very strange at first sight, yet they keep so constantly to them, as to all their other habits, without any alteration, that their general and continual wearing of them makes them to seem less strange unto others which behold them.

As

As for their diet, very many of them, as the Banians in general, (which are a very strict sect) will eat of nothing that hath had, or may have life: and these live upon herbs and roots, and bread, milk, butter, cheese, and sweetmeats, of which they have many made very good by reason of their great abundance of sugar: others amongst them will eat fish, but of no living thing else. The Rashboots will eat swines flesh, which is most hateful to the Mahometans; some will eat one kind of flesh, some of another, (of all very sparingly) but all the Hindoos in general abstain from beef, out of an high and over-excellent esteem they have of kine, and therefore give the Mogul yearly, besides his other exactions, great sums of money, as a ransom for those creatures; whence it comes to pass that amongst other good provisions, we meet there but with little beef.

As the Mahometans bury, so the Hindoos in general (not believing the resurrection of the flesh) burn the bodies of their dead near some rivers, (if they may with convenience) wherein they sow their ashes.

There are another sect, or sort of Heathens living amongst them, called Persees, which do neither of these; of whom, and how they bestow the bodies of their dead, you shall hear afterward.

The widows of these Hindoos, (first mentioned) such as have lived to keep company with

with their husbands, for (as before) there is usually a good space of time 'twixt their wedding and bedding; The widows (I say) who have their husbands separated from them by death, when they are very young, marry not again; but whether or no this be generally observed by them all, I know not; but this I am sure of, that immediately after their husbands are dead, they cut their hair, and spend all their life following as creatures neglected both by themselves and others; whence, to be free from shame, some of them are ambitious to die with honour (as they esteem it) when their fiery love carries them to the flames. (as they think) of martyrdom, most willingly following the dead bodies of their husbands unto the fire, and there embracing, are burnt with them.

A better agreement in death than that of Eteocles and Polynices, the two Theban brothers, of whom it is said that they were such deadly enemies while they were alive, that after, when both their bodies were burnt together in the same fiery pile, the flame parted, and would not mix in one, of which Statius thus:

*Nec furis post fata modus, flammæque rebelles
Seditione Rogi.* — — — — —

*Whose rage not death could end; rebellious ire
Inflam'd to civil war their funeral fire.*

— *Nec mors mihi finit iras.*

Mine

*Mine anger with my body shall not die,
But with thy ghost, my ghost shall battle try.*

But those, which before I named, agree so well in life, that they will not be divided by death, where their flames unite together : And although the woman, who thus burns with her husband, doth this voluntarily, not by any compulsion, (for the love of every widow there is not thus fired) and though the poor creature, who thus dies, may return and live if she please, even then when she comes to the pile, which immediately after turns her into ashes ; yet she who is once thus resolved, never starts back from her first firm and settled resolution, but goes on singing to her death, having taken some intoxicating thing to turn or disturb her brains ; and when come to the place where she will needs die, she settles herself presently in the midst of that combustible substance provided to dispatch her ; which fuel is placed in a round shallow trench, about two feet deep, made for that purpose near some river, or other water, (as before) and though she have no bonds but her own strong affections to tie her unto those flames, yet she never offers to stir out of them. But

*Her breathless husband then she takes
In folded arms ; this done, she makes
Her humble suit to th' flames to give
Her quick dispatch ; she cannot live,*

*Her honour dead. Her friends there come,
 Look on, as if 'twere martyrdom;
 And with content are hither led,
 As once to view her marriage bed.*

And thus, she being joyfully accompanied unto the place of her dying, by her parents and other friends; and when all is fitted for this hellish sacrifice, and the fire begins to burn, all which are there present, shout, and make a continued noise so long as they observe her to stir, that the screeches of that poor tortured creature may not be heard. Not much unlike the custom of the Ammonites; who, when they made their children pass through the fire to Molech, caused certain tabrets or drums to sound, that their cries might not be heard; whence the place was called Tophet, 2 Kings, xxiii. 10. which signifies a drum, or tabret.

Now, after their bodies are quite consumed, and lie mixed together in ashes, and those ashes begin to grow cold, some of them are gathered up by their nearest friends, and kept by them as choice relicks; the rest are immediately sown by the standers by upon the adjacent river, or water.

Alas poor wretches! what a hard master do they serve, who puts them upon such unreasonable services in the flower of their youth and strength, thus to become their own executioners; to burn their own bones when they
 are

are full of marrow, and to roast their own breasts, when they are full of milk. Now Almighty God requires no such thing at his people's hands, and therefore it is by far the more strange to consider that the Devil should have such an abundance of servants in the world, and God so few.

But for those poor silly souls, who sing themselves into the extremity of misery, and thus madly go out of the world, through one fire into another, through flames that will not last long, into everlasting burning, and do it not out of necessity, but choice, led hereunto by their tempter and murderer, and consequently become so injurious and merciless to themselves; certainly they deserve much pity from others, who know not how to pity themselves: For, *nequa miserius misero non miseranti seipsum*; there are none so cruel as those which are cruel and pitiless to themselves. But though (I say) there are some which thus throw away their own lives, yet if we consider those Hindoos in general, we may further take notice,

SECTION XX.

Of the Tenderness of that People, in preserving the Lives of all other inferior Creatures, &c.

FOR they will not (if they can help it by any means) take, but on the contrary do what they can to preserve the lives of all in-

ferior creatures; whence (as before I told you) they give large sums of money to preserve the lives of their kine (a reason for this you shall have afterward); and I have often observed, that when our English boys there have out of wantonness been killing of flies, (there swarming in abundance) they would be very much troubled at it, and if they could not persuade them to suffer those poor creatures to live, they would give them money, or something else, to forbear that (as they conceived) cruelty.

As for themselves (I mean a very great number of them) they will not deprive the most useless, and most offensive creatures of life, not snakes, and other venomous things that may kill them; saying, that it is their nature to do hurts, and they cannot help it; but as for themselves, they further say, that God hath given them reason to shun those creatures, but not liberty to destroy them.

And in order to this their conceit, the Bani-ans (who are the most tender hearted in this case of all that people) have spittles (as they say) on purpose to recover lame birds and beasts.

Some ground for this their tenderness happily proceeds from this consideration, that they cannot give life to the meanest of the sensible creatures, and therefore think that they may not take the lives of any of them; for the poorest worm which crawleth upon the face
of

of the earth, *tam vita vivit, quam Angelus*, (as one of the ancients speaks) live for the present as much as the Angels, and cannot be willing to part with that life, and therefore they imagine that it is most injurious by violence to take it.

But (as I conceive) the most principal cause why they thus forbear to take the lives of inferior creatures, proceeds from their obedience unto a precept given them by one of their principal, and most highly esteemed prophets and law-givers, they call Bremaw; others they have in very high esteem; and the name of one of them is Ram, of another Permissar. I am ignorant of the names of others, and I conceive that my reader will not much care to know them. But from him they call Bremaw, they have received (as they say) many precepts, which they are careful to observe, and the first of them this:

“Thou shalt not kill any living creature, whatsoever it be, having life in the same, for thou art a creature, and so is it; thou art indued with life, and so is it; thou shalt not therefore spill the life of any of thy fellow creatures that live.”

Other precepts (they say) were delivered unto them by their law-giver about their devotions, in their watchings and worshippings; where they are commanded,

“To observe times for fasting, and hours for watching, that they may be the better fitted for them.”

*See 2. Day
- 1. 2. 9. 10. 11.
12. 13. 14. 15. 16.
17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.*

Other directions they have about their festivals; wherein they are required,

“To take their food moderately, in not pampering their bodies.”

Concerning Charity, they are further commanded,

“To help the poor as far as they are possibly able.”

Other precepts (they say) were given them likewise in charge; as,

“Not to tell false tales, nor to utter any thing that is untrue.

“Not to steal any thing from others, be it never so little.

“Not to defraud any by their cunning, in bargains or contracts.

“Not to oppress any, when they have power to do it.”

Now all those particulars are observed by them with much strictness; and some of them are very good, having the impression of God upon them; but that scruple they make in forbearing the lives of the creatures made for men's use, shews how that they have their dwelling in the dark, which makes them, by reason of their blindness, to deny unto themselves that liberty and sovereignty which Almighty God hath given unto man over the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea, appointed for his food, given unto him for his service and his sustenance, to serve him, and to feed him, but not to make havoc and spoil of them.

How-

However, the tenderness of that people over inferior creatures shall one day rise up in judgment against all those who make no scruple at all in taking the lives, not of sensible creatures, but men, not legally to satisfy good and known laws, but violently to please their cruel and barbarous lusts.

Histories are fill'd with many inhuman and strange examples of this kind: Valerius writes of Lucius Sylla, (whose cruelty and thirst after blood made him a monster of mankind, a very prodigy of nature) that when he had caused some thousands of men to be put to death, or (more properly) to be murdered in one day, he presently gave command that this monstrous fact of his should be recorded, lest the memory of so honourable an action (for so he call'd it) might be forgotten.

He kill'd a gentleman of Rome at the same time, for not enduring the sight of an innocent man of quality, whom he saw causelessly murdered. Never (saith the author) was it heard of before, that pity should be punished, and that it should be thought a capital offence to behold a murder with grief.

For that Sylla, it might have been said of him as it was afterwards of Nero, that he was a creature made up of dirt and blood, a monster set upon mischief; who had so much malice and cruelty in his nature, (as any other may have left in his blood) that Valerius writes thus further of him, *Ut in dubio esset Syllane*

prior, an iracundia Syllæ fit extincta, that it was a question whether himself or anger were first extinguished ; most strange and turbulent perturbations and storms of anger, malice and mischief, *quando ira mortalium debet esse mortalis*, (as Lactantius well spake) when the anger of mortal men should be mortal like themselves.

And so most barbarous and cruel are all they, whatsoever they be, who have their hearts so bound and confirm'd as it were with sinews of iron, that they delight in nothing so much as in the slaughter of men, whatsoever they be, whether strangers or brethren, and then make their boasts and brags ; I have knock'd so many on the head, saith one, and I have kill'd so many, saith another, and I so many, saith a third ; and others so many, and so many ; which clearly shews, that they are children of their father the Devil, who was a murderer from the beginning ; for his language is ever in their mouths, *ure, seca, occide*, burn, cut, kill, do execution, and take no pity ; spare not, spare none, whether strangers or known persons, old or young, men, women, children, brethren, or whosoever else comes and crosseth them in their way, as it was in the days of that monstrous Sylla before named, when

*Grey-heads, young orphans, virgins, pregnant
wives,*

All died : 'twas crime enough that they bad lives.

That

That empress was of a far better mind, who wisely advertised her husband, sitting and playing at tables, and minding his game more than the prisoners before him, on whom he pronounced the sentence of death : his wife, I say, thus spake unto him, as Ælian reports, *Non est vita hominum talorum ludus, &c.* the life of man is not as a game at tables, where a wooden man is taken away by a blot, and thrown aside, and after taken again into the play, and there is no hurt done ; but the life of a living man, once lost, is irrecoverable.

When Vedius Pollio, a Roman, at a supper provided for Augustus the emperor, would have drowned his servant, because he had broken a cup of chrystal, the emperor (though a Heathen) with-held him, and controuled him in these words, (as Plutarch reports) saying, *Homo cujuscunque conditionis quatenus homo, &c.* a man of what condition soever he be, if for no other cause, yet because he is a man, is more to be valued than all the chrystal cups in the world : and doubtless, he deserves not the name of a man, who knows not how to value a man.

But how is mankind in these last ages of the world become degenerate, and wild from that which nature first shaped it unto ; for man was made in the beginning to man, as Moses was made to Aaron, Ex. iv. 16. in some sense a God, for succour and comfort : but how contrary to this rule do most men walk ;
so

so that we may justly complain with that noble and virtuous Frenchman, Philip Morney, saying, what is more rare amongst men, than to find a man? that is, as he interprets himself, amongst men how many beasts are there, for the want of the use of reason; or for not using reason well, how many Devils? Lions, saith Pliny, fight not against lions, serpents bite not serpents, but the most mischief man sustains, comes from man.

Thou art deceived, saith Seneca, if thou givest credit unto the looks of those that meet thee, who have the faces of men, but the qualities of wild beasts. Some like the crocodiles of Nilus, that can flatter and betray, weep and murder, cry and kill. Oh how hath mankind, in these later ages, justified the madness of the most savage and untractable beasts, and steel'd their affections with more cruelty than ever lions or serpents could learn in the wilderness.

But certainly that crying clamouring sin of blood, or murder, unless it be washed away with a flood of tears, issuing from a bleeding and a broken heart, and dy'd into another colour by the blood of Christ, will in conclusion bring woe and misery enough upon them that shed it: For there was never any drop of innocent blood spilt upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel to this present hour, or that shall be shed so long as there are men and malice, and mischief in the world,
but

but it swells as big as the ocean sea in the eyes of God, and cannot be washed away by all the waters therein: and further, neither the heat of the sun, nor the dust of the ground, shall ever be able to dry it up, 'till it be either avenged or pardoned; unless the earth and the heavens, and all that are therein, can be bribed to keep silence, and to take no notice thereof.

Without all doubt, when God shall make inquisition for blood, he will remember; for he that bottles up the tears of his poor people, cannot forget their blood: whence it comes to pass, by the righteous judgment of Almighty God, that those who delight in blood, have usually enough of it before they die; or if blood do not touch blood for the present, it will deny a man all peace after the fact committed. "Had Zimri peace, who slew his master?" 2 King. ix. 31. No, he had no peace, no more have any guilty of that sin, if their consciences be not for the present hoop'd over; if the mouth of them be not for the present bung'd up. But as it was in that first plague of Egypt, wherein Pharaoh and the Egyptians were smitten, all the waters in their rivers, ponds, and pools, as in their vessels of wood and stone, were changed into blood: so in the mind and conscience of a murderer, there usually remains a plague of blood; his eyes shall behold no other colour but sanguine, as if the air were dy'd into it: the

the visions of his head in the night shall cast a bowl of blood in his face; all the cogitations and thoughts of his heart shall overflow with the remembrance of that blood he hath spilt: the consideration of which, methinks, should be enough to trouble and affright men that lie under the guilt of this sin, if they fear either guilt or conscience, which will first or last fly in their faces.

Plutarch writing *de serâ numinis vindictâ* of the late but sure revenges executed upon men by divine justice, hath this story of the Delphians, who made no scruple to murder Æsop amongst them; but after this, when they were most grievously plagued by variety of heavy judgments, they who had imbrued their hands in his blood, walked up and down in all the public assemblies of Greece, and caused this to be proclaimed by noise of criers, that whosoever would, should be avenged on them for Æsop's death: they believing themselves the procurers of those plagues which were then upon them. *Deus patiens redditor*, God is a patient rewarder, whose revenges are slow, but sure. *Fortis est Deus, Deus retributionum*, Jer. li. 56. the Lord God of recompences shall surely requite, who is many times long before he strike, but *tarditatem supplicii gravitate compensat*, the severity of his justice shall at last make a full amends for the slowness thereof.

'Tis sad to consider that Heathens (as before was observed) should have so much tenderness

ness in their nature, and any bearing the names of Christians so much cruelty: that Heathens should make so much scruple in taking away the lives of base inferior creatures, of those which are not only useless, but offensive; and men, called Christians, so forward by ways of violence, to cut off the lives of men, never enquiring into the justness of the quarrel, but the rate of the pay, and (as if their own lives, and the blood of others were not worth the valuing) will adventure to kill, or be kill'd, for a day's wages. Thus making havoc of men as fearfully made, as dearly redeemed, as tenderly cherished, and brought up as themselves; yet *occidendi causa occidunt*, they kill, because they take pleasure in killing, and are no more troubled at the death of a man, than if a dog had fallen before them.

'Tis true, that lions will tear, and dogs will bark and bite, and serpents will sting, because it is in their nature so to do; yet men, Christians, must do otherwise, and not make the slaughters of men, of multitudes of people professing Christ, delightful arguments of their ordinary discourse, or table talk; as if it were a relation that had pleasure in it; as if there were no difference 'twixt the cutting down of men, and the mowing of straw and stubble.

I confess, that when men have an immediate commission from God, to execute vengeance on those he would have destroyed, they may

may do execution with boldness, without pity or regret : for it is as great a fault to spare when God bids destroy (for he wrongs the innocent, who spares the guilty, for which very thing Saul pays dear, 1 Sam. 15.) as to destroy when God bids spare. The Israelites had such a commission often granted, and renewed, for the rooting out of those nations, which God would have grubbed up root and branch, and then they were to destroy without pity. But afterward that people, because they did so much abuse their prosperity and success, and after both their peace, they perish themselves by the sword of war. Jerusalem had many warnings, but would not take them, before the woe took hold of it. And therefore, after all those monitions, Titus, the son of Vespasian the Emperor, was made instrumental to fulfil these many prophecies, which threatened Jerusalem's final overthrow. But that commander, and conqueror, though a stranger, an adversary, and a profest enemy to the Jews, and sent to destroy them, when he saw (as Josephus reports) the spoil and slaughter which fell upon that woeful and most miserable city, he calls his Gods to witness that he was exceedingly troubled at it. "He that is glad at calamity, shall not be unpunished" Prov. xvii. 5. And if an Heathen, a foreign enemy, sent to destroy, could take no pleasure in executing of punishment, though upon enemies, but the contrary ;

trary; men which enjoy the light, should be by much more troubled, in the beholding of slaughters, which happen among themselves or brethren: and therefore Tully, writing to Atticus, speaks exceeding wisely in telling him thus, *extremum est maturum annuum belli civilis victoria*; his reason, because men having done much mischief already in those unnatural engagements, are flushed and heartened to go on, and to do more mischief still. Hence it was that the very Heathens were not wont to make any triumphs for victories gained in their civil wars, as Lucan speaks;

Bella geri placuit nullos habitura Triumphos.

And there is much to this purpose, in that sad, but very remarkable story of the Israelites and Benjamites, as we may observe in the book of Judges, ch. 20 and 21. Some Benjamites there at Gebiah had committed an abominable wickedness; the rest of that tribe, instead of punishing, did patronise it, and chose rather to die in the resisting of justice, than live and prosper in the furthering thereof.

It is one of the mad principles of wickedness, that when men have once resolved to do a thing, be it never so bad, and to say they will do it, it is a very great weakness to relent; therefore they will choose to suffer, to die rather than yield, or go back from their resolutions; thinking that causes, whatsoever they be, when they are once undertaken, must be

be upheld, although with blood. And from this false ground, the Benjamites put themselves in arms, and were champions to defend the lewdness of their brethren, and made themselves worse by the abetting of a monstrous sin, than the others were by the commission thereof: because the last was done upon resolution, and so probably was not the other. Now that no man may conclude a cause therefore good, because the success is so, the tribes of Israel that went against the Benjamites had by far the better of the cause; but the Benjamites for the present the better in their success; for the wickedness of Benjamin sped better for a time than the honesty of Israel: twice was the better part foiled by the less and worse, the good cause was sent back with shame, the evil returned with victory and triumph. But wickedness could never brag of any long prosperity, the triumph of wickedness is short: and wickedness cannot complain of the lack of payment, for still God is even with it at the last, as we may observe in the story of those Benjamites, who in conclusion were made to pay extremely dear for their sin. In whose example we may take notice, that the retaliations of the Lord are sure and just. But after all this, when the rest of the tribes of Israel (being so highly provoked) had slain such a very great number of the Benjamites, almost to the utter ruin of their tribe, for acting and abetting such a monstrous wickedness;
observe

observe how the rest of Israel behaved themselves towards their brethren; they did not rejoice and make triumphs for that their victory, but they weep over their dead bodies, Judg. 21. 2. and study how that breach among the Benjamites (which their sin and provocation had enforced the rest of Israel to make) might be made up again.

The prophet Oded gave good counsel, in a case which was something parallel to this, and it was well followed, 2 Chr. 28. for when they of Samaria had taken a very great number of their brethren of Judah and Jerusalem captives, two hundred thousand, and much spoil, and were carrying it and them into Samaria, the prophet, I say, gave this counsel, that they should not strip and starve, but put cloathing on their loins, and shoes on their feet, and meat and drink in their bellies, and send them home again; and so they did.

There are very many who walk quite contrary to these rules, and dare do as those wicked ones, mentioned in the second chapter of the book of Wisdom, saying "let us oppress, and let our strength be the rule of justice; as if there were no power, either in earth or heaven, to contradict them. But however, let others, who observe the courses of God's providence, and withal see the oppression of the poor, and the violent perverting of judgement and justice in a province, not marvel at the matter; for he that is higher than the highest regardeth, and there be higher than they.

Y

In

In that parable, Luke xvi. dogs are mentioned, and why so? that their tongues might condemn the merciless bowels of their master, who shewed pity in their kind, when their master had no compassion on the poor lazarus; he not considering that there is a mercy, a pity, and a care, due to the most despicable piece of humanity. *Frustra misericordiam petit, qui misericordiam non facit*; in vain shall they one day hope for mercy and pity, that will not now exercise it.

Undoubtedly, there is nothing becomes power and greatness better than bowels and inwards of pity and mercy. These make the faces of men in power to shine, and themselves to resemble God, who is most properly called *optimum maximum*, first by the name of his goodness, and then by the name of his greatness; first by the name of his mercy, and then by the name of his might.

But the ignorance of those Indians, before spoken of, makes them more pitiful than they need to be: and if they had knowledge to make doubt of, and to scruple other things as they should, I might have spared my next section, which will acquaint my reader, by telling him further,

SECTION

SECTION XXI.

Of other strange and groundless, and very gross Opinions, proceeding from the blackness and darkness of Ignorance in that People.

ALL error in the world proceeds either from ignorance, commonly joined with pride, or else from wilfulness. This is most true as in natural and moral, so in spiritual things. For as knowledge softens and sweetens mens manners, so it enricheth their minds; which knowledge is certainly a most divine, a very excellent thing; otherwise our first parents would never have been so ambitious of it. This makes a man here to live twice, or to enjoy here a double life, in respect of him that wants it. But for this knowledge, it certainly must be esteemed better, or worse, by how much the object of this knowledge is worse, or better. Now the first object of this knowledge, is a right understanding, and knowledge of the true God, which that people wants.

For there is *scientia contristans* (as Bernard speaks) a sad, an unquiet, an unpeaceable, and an unsatisfying knowledge; as to know there is a God, (for so this people do) and to be ignorant (as this people, and millions more are) to serve him aright, and how to make

him their God: as for men to know that they are sinners, and not to know this unto amendment of life: as to know that there is a heaven, and not to know how to attain it: as to know that there is a hell, and not to know how to avoid it. And more particularly, for such as profess Christ, to know that Jesus Christ died for sinners, and to be ignorant how to apply a plaster of his blood and merits unto the hurts of their poor wounded souls; and further, though knowledge be so excellent, for any to seek after the tree of knowledge, more than the tree of life, is a most uncomfortable search.

Now touching this people, they are altogether ignorant of God, as they ought to know him; and they have no learning amongst them, but as much as enables them to write, and to read what they have written; and they having no insight into the reasons and causes of things, (I mean the ruder sort, both of the Mahometans and Gentiles) when they observe things which are not very ordinary, as when they see any eclipses, but especially of the moon, (haply some of them sacrificing to her, and calling her the Queen of Heaven, as those idolaters did, Jer. xlv. 18) they make a very great stir and noise, bemoaning her much, which helps, as they conceive, to free and bring her out of it. Juvenal observing that custom, which appears to be a very antient one among the Heathens, reproves a very brawling,

brawling, clamorous woman, in his sixth satyr, thus:

Una, laboranti poterit succurrere Lunæ.

That she made noise enough to deliver the moon out of an eclipse.

Their ignorance in this, as in many-many other things, is much to be pitied; as the knowledge and learning of many others; which, by their not improving of it, is to them as the letter which Uriah sometimes carried against himself; it condemns the bearer.

But though the Hindoos, or Heathens there, have no learning, yet they want not opinions; for their divided hearts are distracted into fourscore and four several sects, each differing from others very much in opinion about their irreligion; which might fill a man even full of wonder, that doth not consider, how that Satan, who is the author of division, is the seducer of them all.

Those many sects, as I conceive among them, consist of people there of several trades, occupations, and conditions of life; which several sorts of people, as before I observed, marry into their own tribes, and so unite and keep together amongst themselves, that they have not much correspondency with any other people. These, without doubt, have several ways of worship within themselves, which makes them so separate from others, as that they will not eat with any, but those of their own tribes.

84

For Heathens, that have neither light nor guide, to be thus divided, and to live in darkness, hath not so much wonder in it; but for Christians, who have been in the valley of visions, thus to separate, ministers matter of wonder or pity, nay of both. And for us of this nation, if we still continue to multiply opinions in religion, as we have begun (which God forbid) we shall enlarge the proverb, that if a man have lost his religion, and cannot find it, either in Poland, nor yet in Amsterdam, let him seek for it in England.

The illiterate priests of all that people, for the generality of them, are called Bramins, who derive themselves from Bramon, who, they say, was one of the first men that inhabited the world; and after the sin of that first world brought the flood, the race of that Bramon (whose very name they highly reverence) was continued in Bremaw, who, as they say, outlived that deluge, and is honoured by them likewise as one of their great prophets and lawgivers.

Those Bramins (as I conceive) are they, which the ancient stories call Brachmanes, but with this difference, that those Brachmanes were accounted learned men, for the learning of those times wherein they lived: but these Bramins are a very silly, sottish, and an ignorant sort of people, who are so inconstant in their principles, as that they scarce know what the particulars are which they hold, and maintain as truths.

As

As anciently among the Jews, the priesthood is hereditary; for all those Bramins sons are priests, and they all take the daughters of Bramins to be their wives: of which something before.

They have little churches, they call Pagods, standing near, or under their green trees, built round: but as the antient Brachmanes were said not to endure, these on the contrary have images in their pagods, made in monstrous shapes; but for what end they have them, I know not.

Now, from the manner of those Heathens, which I believe hath been for many-many years retained in their idolatrous worships, I conceive that the Jews long ago borrowed that unwarrantable custom of worshipping God in groves, or under green trees.

Both men and women, before they go to their devotions, (which are frequently performed) wash their bodies, and keep off all their cloaths, but the covering of modesty, 'till they have done; led thereto by a precept, (as they say) commanded them to be perform'd by their law-giver Bremaw; which requires them daily to observe their times of devotion expressed by their washings, worship-pings, and prayer to God; which must be all done with purity of hearts.

And it is the manner of this people, before they take their food to wash their bodies, then (which I much observed while we lived

in tents) they make a little circle upon the ground, which they seem to consecrate; after which they sit down within that compass, and eat what they have provided; and if any come within that circle, before they have ended their meal, they presently quit the place, and leave their food behind them.

That outward washing, as these people think, avails very much to their cleansing from sin: not unlike the Pharisees, who were all for the outside of religion, and would not eat with unwashed hands, Mark vii. 2. unless they washed themselves up to the elbows, as Theophrast observes. Hence those Hindoos ascribe a certain divinity to rivers, but above all to the famous river Ganges, whither they flock daily in troops, that there they may wash themselves; and the nearer they can come to the head of that river, the more virtue they believe is in the water. After they have thus washed, they throw pieces of gold or silver (according to their devotion and ability) into that river, and so depart from it.

Thus, reader, thou hast somewhat of the carriages of this people in life. Now after death some of them talk of Elysian fields (such as the poets dream'd of) to which their souls must pass over a Stix, or Acheron, and there take new bodies. Others of them think, that ere long the world will have an end, after which they shall live here again on a new earth. Some other wild conceivings of this people follow afterward.

Some

Some Bramins have told me that they acknowledge one God, whom they describe with a thousand eyes, with a thousand hands, and as many feet, that thereby they may express his power, as being all eye to see, all foot to follow, and all hand to smite offenders. The consideration whereof makes that people very exact in the performances of all moral duties; following close the light of nature, in their dealings with men; most-carefully observing that royal law, in doing nothing to others, but what they would be well contented to suffer from others.

Those Bramins talk of two books, which not long after the creation, when the world began to be peopled, they say, were delivered by almighty God to Bramon, before spoken of; one of which books, they say, containing very high, secret, and mysterious things, was sealed up, and might not be opened; the other to be read, but only by the Bramins, or priests. And this book, thus to be read, came after, as they further say, into the hands of Bremaw, (of whom likewise something before) and by him it was communicated unto Ram, and Permissar, two other fam'd prophets amongst them, which those Heathens do likewise exceedingly magnify, as they do some others, whose names I have not. Now that book which they call the Shester, or the book of their written word, hath been transcribed in all ages ever since by the Bramins,

out

*Argues
Bramins*

out of which they deliver precepts unto the people.

They say that there are seven orbs, above which is the seat of God, and that God knows not small and petty things, and if he do, regards them not.

There have been philosophers of the like mind, who madly thought that almighty God had no regard of human affairs. For which very thing Tully, though an Heathen, doth most highly condemn them.

The Peripateticks housed the providence of God above the Moon, and thought that it had no descent beneath the circle thereof, to intend inferior things and businesses.

The Atheists in the Psalm, who say that there is no God, infer from hence, how can God see? what do the Epicures in Job say less; or Eliphaz, speaking in their names, Job xxii. "how can God know? can he judge through the dark clouds? the clouds hide him that he cannot see"; and chap xxiv. 14. 15. he brings in the murderer and adulterer, acting their parts with much boldness, confidence, and presumption, and upon this false ground, that no eyes see them; for if they did believe the contrary, then certainly they would not dare to do what they do; which shews that there is a very Atheism in the hearts of most men, which makes them not afraid to do that in the presence of an all-seeing God, which for fear, or shame, they durst not do in the sight of a little child.

Averroes,

Averroes, a Spanish physician, (that he might seem to be mad with reason) by reason goes about to exempt and withdraw smaller things from the sight and providence of God, as if it were most injurious to bring down the majesty of God so low, thinking that the knowledge and understanding of God would become vile, if it were abased by taking notice of mean and inferior objects.

A very strange opinion; as if a looking-glass was deformed, because it represents deformities; or the beams of the sun defiled, because they fall upon dunghills and other filthy places; or the providence of God vilified, "who though he hath his dwelling so high, yet he abaseth himself to behold the things in heaven and in earth." Psal. cxiii. 6.

As he spake the word in the beginning, so all things were made, Gen. 1. thus ever since he sustaineth, and beareth up all things by the power of that word, Heb. 1. His creation was the mother to bring things forth; his providence the nurse to bring them up. His creation a short providence, his providence a perpetual creation: the first setting up the frame of the house, the second looking to the standing and reparations thereof.

And therefore I will bring in Tully again to gainsay and condemn those forenamed mad opinions, who (in his first book *de naturâ deorum*) tells us, that the providence of God reacheth, *usque ad Apium, Formicarumque perfectionem*,

fectionem, to the husbanding of bees and pismires. And in his eighth book on the same subject, where speaking against the Epicures and Atheists of that age, he saith, *curiosus, & plenus negotii Deus*; that God is a curious God, exquisite in all things, and full of business. So far he an Heathen could see, and so much say.

But a Christian, that knows more, can speak further; that God is not a careless and improvident God, or a God by halves, and in part; above and not beneath the Moon, as the Syrians dreamed; upon the mountains, and not in the vallies; but he is a God in lesser, as well as in greater matters; who beholds at one view all places, all persons, and all things. And as our times are in God's hands, so he takes notice of every thing done by us in every minute and moment of our time; he knowing all things, not as they appear, but are *simplici notitia*, (as the schools speak) with a sure, certain, exact knowledge. Thus he takes notice of every sin that is committed, and of every circumstance in sinning. He saw the sins of the whole world in the book of his eternity, long before the foundations of the world were laid. He sees them in every man's breast, before his hands commit them. "I knew thee (saith God) before thou camest forth of the womb" Jer. 1. 5. and God tells Israel, that he knew what they meant to do, long before they came out of the land of Egypt:
the

the consideration whereof may curb and confound all those that say, God shall not see.

This providence of God did reach to the handful of meal, and the cruise of oil in the poor widow's house, 2 King. iv. and so it reacheth to the calving of hinds, to the feeding of young lions and ravens, to the falling of sparrows on the ground, to the numbering of our hairs, as to every thing beside.

But to return again to that people, the Hindoos I spake of; and these circumscribe God to place, and further conceit that he may be seen, but as in a mist afar off, but not near.

They further believe that there are Devils, but so fettered and bound in chains as that they cannot hurt them.

I observed before the tenderness and scruple which is in very many of that people in taking the lives of an inferior, and meerly sensible, ay and of hurtful creatures too: and those which are most tender hearted in this case are called Banians, who are by far more numerous than any other of those Indian sects; and these hold Pythagoras's Metempsychosis as a prime article of their faith; and from hence it is that they cannot abide to kill any living creatures; and from this ground, that philosopher dissuades from eating flesh, by many arguments laid down in the fifteenth book of Ovid's Metamorphosis.

*Heu! quantum scelus est in viscere viscera condi,
Congestoque avidum pinguescere corpore corpus:*

Alteri-

Alteriusque animantem animanti vivere Letbol!

*Ab sinful ! who in bowels bowels hide,
And flesh, by greedy eating flesh, do breed :
That creatures life, by creatures death may feed !*

And after this, that philosopher placeth the soul's immortality in its transmigration from one creature to another, saying :

*Morte carent animæ : semperque priore relicta
Sede, novis domibus vivunt habitantque receptæ,
Ipse ego (nam memeni) Trojani tempore belli
Pantboides Euphorbus eram ———*

*Souls are immortal, and whene'er they leave
Their former houses, new ones they receive.
Tis Trojan war (I well remember) I
Was Pantbos son Euphorbus.——*

And a little after he thus speaks :

*Omnia mutantur, nihil interit, errat, & illinc
Huc venit, hinc illuc, & quolibet occupat artus
Spiritus eque feris humana in corpora transit,
Inque feras noster, nec tempore deperit ullo.
Utque novis facilis signatur cera figuris,
Nec manet ut fuerat, nec formas servat easdem,
Sed tamen ipsa eadem est : animam sic semper
eandem*

*Esse, sed in varias doceo migrare figuras.
Ergo ne pietas sit victa cupidine ventris,
Parcite (vaticinor) cognatas cæde nefandæ
Exturbare animas, ne sanguine sanguis alatur.*

Things

Things are not lost, but chang'd, the spirit strays
Hence thither, thither hence, nor lodg'd stays
In any limbs: to human bodies flies
From beasts, from these to those, nor ever dies.
And as new prints in easy wax we make,
Which varying still several impressions take,
Yet is itself the same: so the same soul
(I teach) doth into several fashions roul.
Then let not piety, by lust subdued,
Suffer your hands in parricide imbrued,
Dislodge the souls, or nourish blood with blood.

Thus much from Ovid, of that Pythagorean fancy, which that untaught people come up very near unto; thinking that all the souls, both of men and women, after they leave their bodies, make their repose in other creatures, and those souls (as they imagine) are best lodg'd that go into kine, which (in their opinion) are the best of all sensible creatures; and therefore, as before, they give yearly large sums of money unto the Mogul to redeem them from slaughter. And this people further conceit, that the souls of the wicked go into vile creatures: as the souls of gluttons and drunkards into swine: so the souls of the voluptuous and incontinent into monkeys and apes: thus the souls of the furious, revengeful, and cruel people, into lions, wolves, tygers, as into other beasts of prey: so the souls of the envious into serpents: and so into other creatures, according to people's quali-

qualities and dispositions, while they lived successively from one to another of the same kind, *ad infinitum* for ever and ever, by consequence they believing the immortality of the world. And upon that same mad and groundless fancy, probably they further believe, that the souls of froward, peevish, and teachy women, go into wasps; and that there is never a silly fly, but (if they may be credited) carries about it some souls (happily they think of light women) and will not be persuaded out of their wild conceivings, so incorrigible are their sottish errors.

The day of rest which those Hindoos observe as a sabbath, is Thursday, as the Mahometans Friday. Many festivals they have, which they keep solemnly, and pilgrimages, the most famous briefly spoken of before in those short descriptions of Nagraiote and Syba, observed in my first section.

Now there are a race of other Heathens, I named before, living amongst those Hindoos, which in many things differ very much from them; they are called Persees, who (as they say) originally came out of Persia, about that time Mahomet and his followers gave laws to the Persians, and imposed a new religion on them; which these Persees not enduring, left their country, and came and settled themselves in East-India, in the province of Guzarat, where the most part of them still continue, (though there are some of them likewise in
other

other parts of India) but wherever they live, they confine themselves strictly to their own tribe, or sect.

For their habits, they are clad like the other people of that empire, but they shave not their hair close, as the other do, but suffer their beards to grow long.

Their profession is, for the generality, all kinds of husbandry, employing themselves very much in sowing and setting of herbs; in planting and dressing of vines, and palmeto or toddy trees, as in planting and husbanding all other trees bearing fruit, and indeed they are a very industrious people, and so are very many of the Hindoos, (as before observed); and they do all very well in doing so, and in this a due and deserved commendation belongs unto them: for there is no condition whatsoever can privilege a folded arm. Our first parents, before their fall, were put into the garden of Eden, to dress it. Certainly, if idleness had been better than labour, they had never been commanded to do work; but they must labour in their state of innocency, because they were happy, and much more we in our sinful lost state, that we may be so. It was a law given before the law, that man should eat bread by the sweat of his brows; and it is a gospel precept too, that he who will not work, shall not eat; the sluggard desireth, and hath nothing, (saith Solomon) because he doth nothing but de-

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fire,

fire, and therefore his desires do him no good, because his hands refuse to labour. That body therefore well deserves to pine and starve without pity, when two able hands cannot feed one mouth.

But further, for those Persets, they use their liberty in meats and drinks, to take of them what they please; but because they would not give offence, either to the Mahometans or Banians, or to other Hindoos, amongst whom they live, they abstain from eating beef, or swines flesh.

It is their usual manner to eat alone, as for every one of them to drink in his own cup; and this is a means (as they think) to keep themselves more pure; for if they should eat with others, they are afraid that they might participate of some uncleanness by them.

Alas, poor creatures! that do not at all understand themselves, and their most miserable condition; for to them that are defiled, and unbelieving, is nothing pure.

Yet I observed before, the Mahometans and Gentiles there, are very strict in this particular, so that they will not eat with any mixt company, and many of the Gentiles not eat with one another. And this hath been an ancient custom among Heathens. It is said, Gen. xliii. 32. that the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that was an abomination to the Egyptians: for this very reason

reason it was, that the woman of Samaria spake thus unto our blessed saviour, John iv. 9. "how is it that thou, being a Jew, askest water of me, which am a woman of Samaria? for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans." But without doubt, that forbearance, or shyness to eat one man with another, can fetch no ground, either from religion or reason; if it could, Peter would never have eaten with the Gentiles, Gal. 12. nor our blessed Saviour with Publicans and Sinners, at which the Scribes and Pharisees take very much exception, Mark ii. 16. No man, as a man, is to be accounted common or unclean, Acts 10. 28. and a man shall do much better, who eats and drinks with a sober Heathen, than to keep company with a debauch'd drunken sensual man, though he calls himself a Christian; eating and drinking with him such things as please him, by being his companion in his riot and excess.

For those Persees, further, they believe that there is but one God, who made all things, and hath a sovereign power over all. They talk much of Lucifer, and of other evil spirits, but they say, that those, and all Devils besides, are kept so under and in awe by two good angels that have power over them, as that they cannot hurt or do the least mischief, without their leave and licence.

As many of the Hindoos ascribe so much unto water, (as before) so these to fire; and

the reason of it is this, because they have had this tradition from many ages and generations past, that their great law-giver, whom they call Zertooft, was rapt up into Heaven, and there had fire delivered unto him, which he brought down thence, and he ever after commanded his followers to worship it, and so they do; and further they love any thing that resembles fire, as the Sun and Moon; and therefore when they pray in the day time, they look towards the Sun, and so towards the Moon in their night devotions; and from that so over-high esteem they have of fire, they keep fires continually burning in their Eg-garees, or temples, in lamps fed with oil, which are always attended by their Priests; and they talk of many of these which have burned without extinguishment from many foregoing generations.

And by the way, that wild and mad fancy of theirs, that their Zertooft did fetch fire from Heaven, is as certainly true, as that ancient fiction and fable of Prometheus, that he did steal fire from thence.

But to proceed: their priests they call Da-roos, or Harboods, above both which they have a chief or high priest, they call the Destoor, who not often appears openly, but when he doth, he meets with much reverence and respect given unto him by the common people, and so do those other church-men which are his inferiors; unto all which they
allow

allow free maintenance for their more comfortable subsistence.

Those church-men, by their law, are commanded to dwell near, and to abide much in their Eggarees, or temples, to give advice or direction unto any that shall repair unto them for it. They observe divers feasts, and immediately after each of them a fast follows.

That living sensible creature, which they first behold every morning (that is good and serviceable) is to them, as they say, a remembrancer all the day after, to draw up their thoughts in thanksgiving unto almighty God, who hath made such good creatures for man's use and service.

There are good things (as I have been informed) in that book of their religion delivered them in precepts, which their law-giver hath left unto them for the direction of their lives.

As first, To have shame and fear ever present with them, which will restrain and keep them from the committing of many evils.

Secondly, When they undertake any thing, seriously to consider whether it be good, or bad, commanded, or forbidden them.

Thirdly, To keep their hearts and eyes from coveting any thing that is another's, and their hands from hurting any.

Fourthly, To have a care always to speak the truth.

Fifthly, To be known only in their own

businesses, and not to enquire into, and to busy themselves in other mens matters.

All which are good moral precepts; but they have another which mars and spoils all the rest, and that is upon the greatest penalties they can be threatned withall.

Sixthly, Not to entertain or believe any other law besides that which was delivered unto them by their law-giver.

This people take but one wife, which hath liberty as the wives of the Hindoos, to go abroad. They never resolve to take wives, or husbands, without the advice of their churchmen; and when they come to be married, they stand some distance one from the other, there being two churchmen present, one in behalf of the man, and in behalf of the woman the other. The first of these asks the woman whether or no she will have that man to be her husband? and the other asks the man whether or no he will have that woman to be his wife? and they both consenting, the priests bring them together and join their hands, praying that they may live in unity and love together; and then both those churchmen scatter rice upon the married couple, intreating God to make them fruitful, in sending them many sons and daughters, that they may multiply as much as that seed doth in the ears that bear it. And so the ceremony being thus performed, which is about the time of midnight, the whole company depart, leaving the married couple together.

At

At the birth of every child, they immediately send for the Daroo, or churchman, who comes to the parties house, and there being certainly inform'd of the exact time of the child-birth, first undertakes to calculate its nativity, and to speak something of it by way of prediction, after which he confers with the parents about a name whereby it shall be called; which when they have agreed upon, the mother, in the presence of the company there assembled, gives it that name.

And now lastly, touching the burials of that people: they encircle pieces of ground with a round wall, that is of a good height, set apart for that purpose. These burying places stand remote from houses and road ways; the ground within them is made smooth, or else paved on the bottom, in the midst whereof they have a round pit, made deep like a draw-well. The bodies of their dead, both men, women, and children, are carried to those places upon a bier made of slight round iron bars, (for they will not have dead bodies touch any wood, lest they should defile it, because that is fuel for their adored fire) and thus brought thither, are laid round about near the inside of that wall, upon the ground or pavements, covered with a thin white cloth. The Daroo, or Harboode, accompanies the dead body near unto the door which enters that place (always kept fast shut, but when it is opened upon this occasion to let in their

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dead)

dead) and being come thither, speaks these words in the audience of all those which are thither assembled; "that whereas the party deceased consisted of all the four elements, he desires that every one of them may now take his part." And this is the form they use, when they thus dispose of the bodies of their dead: which being there so left in that open place, are presently laid bare by the fowls of the air, who in a short time after pick all their flesh clear from their bones; by consequence, their fleshly part having no other sepulchres, graves, or tombs, but the craws and gorges of those ravenous fowls. And when upon this occasion they enter that round stage of mortality, the bare skeletons they there find, which have parted with all their flesh, are by those bearers of the dead cast into that deep round pit, where they mix promiscuously together, and so make room for other dead bodies.

But now that my reader may not conceive that I have endeavoured in some of these strange relations to write a new romance, I would have him to think, that for my part I do believe that there is very much of truth in the particulars I have inserted, if there be any credit to be given to some men of much integrity, that lived amongst them, who made it a great part of their business to be satisfied in many of the particulars here spoken of; or if I might trust mine own eyes and ears that saw and heard much of it, which could have enabled

enabled me to have written a great deal more concerning the rites, ceremonies, customs, wild conceivings, and mad idolatries of this people, as of the Hindoos spoken of before, if I durst have thrown away more time upon them: all which would have made my judicious reader thus to have concluded with me, that those Mahometans and Heathens ground very many of their opinions upon custom, tradition, and fancy, not reason, much less upon safe rules that might lead them into, and after keep them in the way of truth: they esteeming it a very great boldness, a very high presumption, to be wiser in their religion than their forefathers were (as many of the more ignorant sort of Papists will often say, though it be directly against themselves) and therefore are desirous to do, and to believe as their ancestors have before them; to fare as they have fared, and as they have sped to speed, though they perish everlastingly with them; never considering of, or ruminating on those things which they hold and maintain for truths; being like unto unclean beasts, which chew not the cud.

So much of that people in general: I come now more particularly to speak,

SECTION

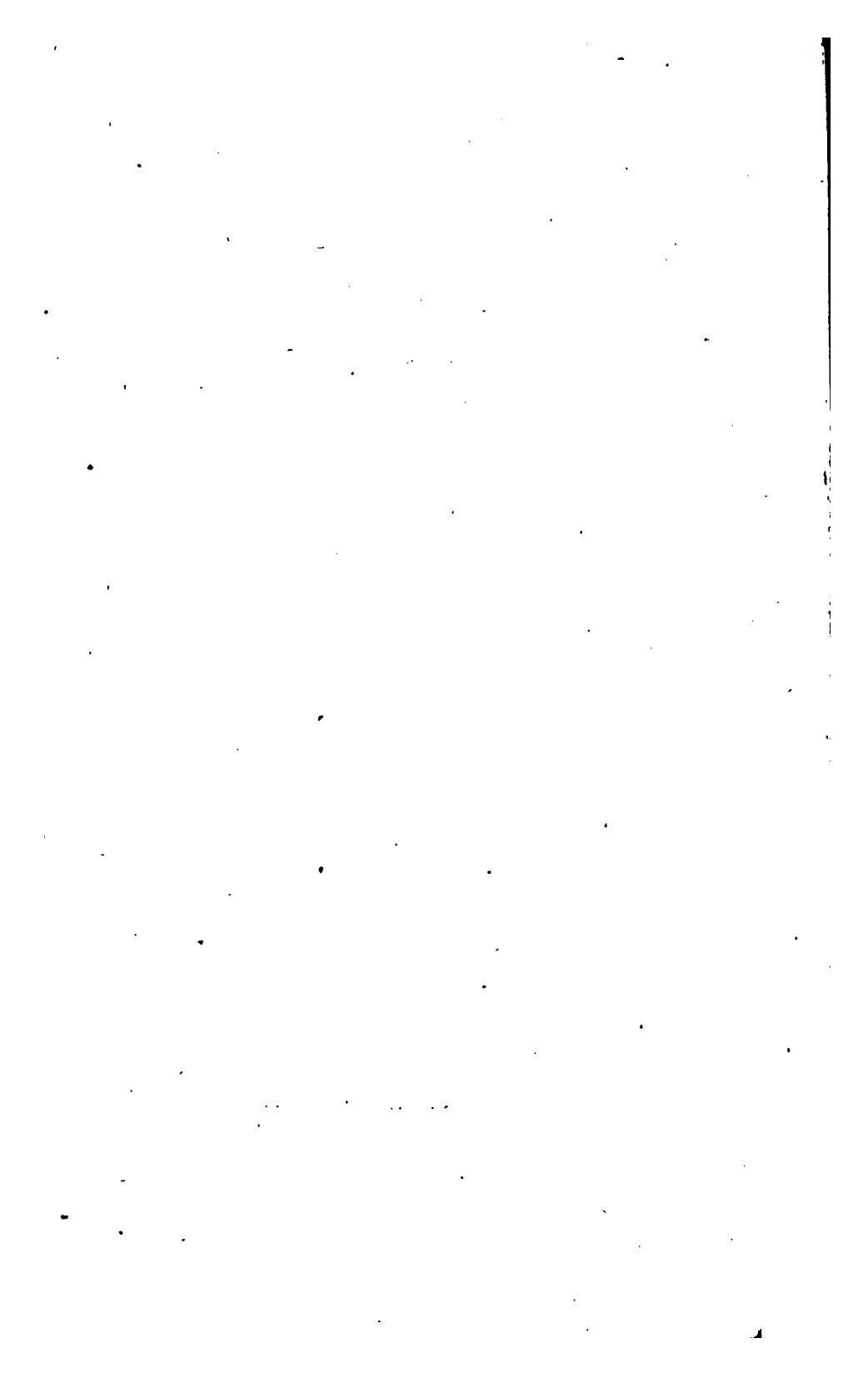
SECTION XXII.

*Of their King, the Great Mogul, his
Descent, &c. &c.*

NOW those Mahometans and Gentiles I have named, live under the subjection of the Great Mogul; which name, or rather title, (if my information abuse me not) signifies circumcised, as himself and the Mahometans are; and therefore for his most general title he is called the Great Mogul, as the chief of the circumcised, or the chief of the circumcison.

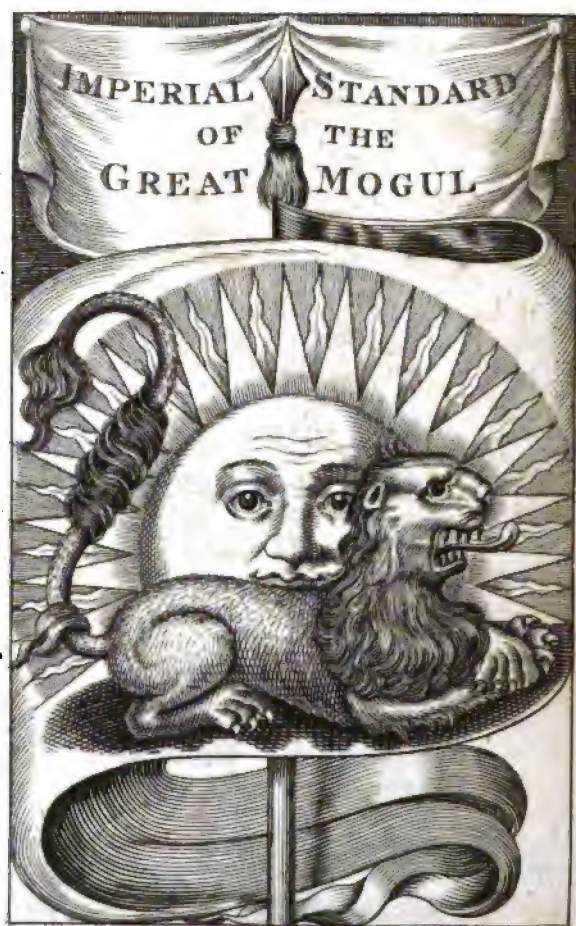
He is lineally descended from that most famous conqueror, called in our stories Tamerlane, concerning whose birth and original, histories much differ, and therefore I cannot determine it; but in this, all that write of him agree, that he having got together very many huge multitudes of men, made very great conquests in the south east parts of the world, not only on Bajazet the Emperor of the Turks, but also in East-India, and elsewhere; for what cannot force by multitudes do? This Tamerlane, in their stories is called Amir Timur, or the great Prince and Emperor Timur; who (as they say) towards his end, either by a hurt received in his thigh, or else by an unhappy fall from his horse, which made him halt to his grave, was ever after that called

Timur

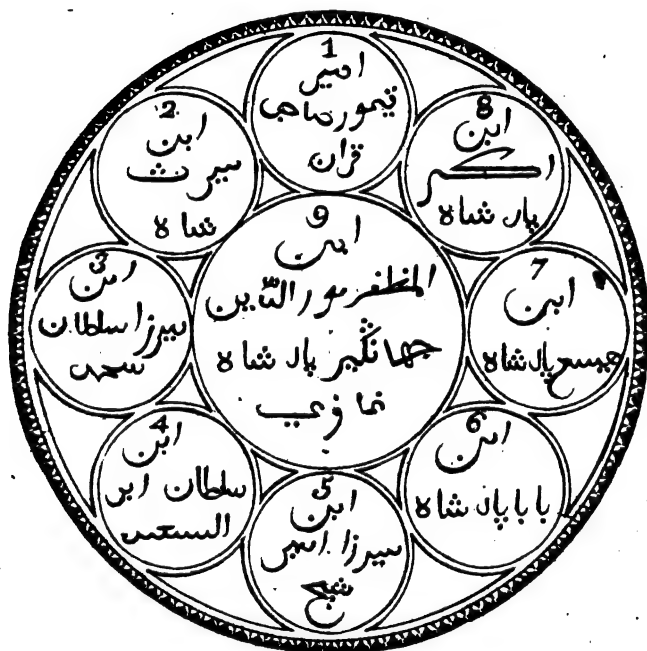


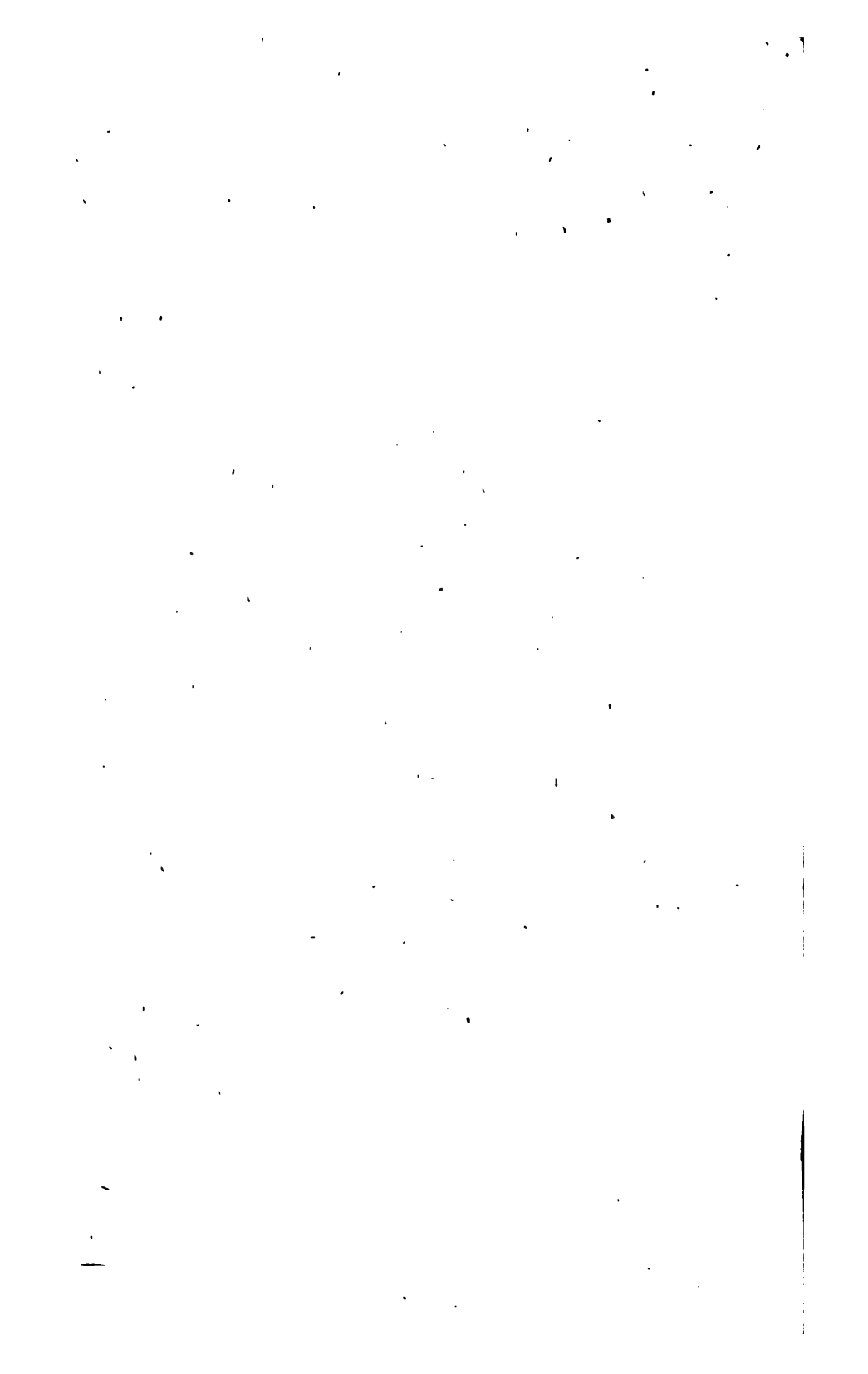






*The Royal Signet of the
Great Mogul.*





Timur-lang, or Timur the lame; from whence he is corruptly in our stories named *Tamerlane*. The late Mogul, at whose court we lived, was the ninth in a direct line from that of his great ancestor.

And now that my reader may see the great Mogul in a portraiture (which was taken from a picture of his drawn to the life) I have caused that to be here inserted: which presents him in his daily unvaried habit, as he is bedeck'd and adorn'd with jewels he continually wears. For the fashion of the habit in which he is here presented, it is for the fashion the habit of that whole vast empire; so that he who strictly views this, may see the dress of the men throughout that whole great monarchy.

After this I have set up the royal standard of the great Mogul, which is a couchant lion shadowing part of the body of the sun.

And after that I have caused his Imperial Signet, or great seal, to be laid down before my reader's eyes; wherein nine rounds, or circles, are the names and titles of *Tamerlane*, and his lineal successors, in Persian words, which I shall make presently to speak English, and (as I conceive) no more in English than what is fully expressed in those original words.

This seal (as it is here made in Persian words) the great Mogul, either in a large, or lesser figure, causeth to be put unto all Firmaunes, or letters patents, the present King's title put in
in

in the middle and larger circle that is surrounded with the rest; the impression whereof is not made in any kind of wax, but ink, the seal put in the middle of the paper, and the writing about it; which paper there is made very large, smooth, and good, and in divers colours, besides white, and all to write on. And the words on the Mogul's seal being imboss'd, are put upon both sides of his silver and gold coin (for there is no image upon any of it); and the like signets, or seals, are used by the great men of that country, and so by others of inferior rank, having their names at length engraven on them; with which they make impressions or subscriptions, by ink put on them, to all their acts and deeds; which round circle is their hand and seal too.

For Timur-lang, or Tamerlane, he was famous about the year of Christ 1398, in the last year of the reign of Richard the second, King of England: and he the first of the race of those great monarchs, hath a title, which speaks thus:

1. Amir, Timur, Saheb Ceran; that is, the great conqueror or Emperor Timur, or Tamerlane, Lord possessor of the corners, or of the four corners of the world.

2. The second, his son, was called Mirath-Sha, the King and inheritor of conquests, or the inheritor of his father's conquests.

3. The third, his son, was called Mirza, Sultan Mahomeds, the Prince and commander
for

for Mahomet; or the defender of the Mahometan religion; for this King (as it should seem) was the first Indostan Emperor that professed Mahometism; which Tamerlane, his grandfather, was a great enemy to, and therefore ever strongly opposed it: but this third monarch of that line, and all his successors since, have been Mahometans.

4. The fourth, his son, was called Sultan Abusaid, the Prince and Father, or fountain of Beneficence.

5. The fifth, his son, was called Mirzee Amir Sheick, the Imperial Princely Lord.

6. The sixth, his son, was called Baba Padsha, the King the Father, or the King, the father of his country.

7. The seventh, his son, was called Hamasaon Padsha, the King Invincible.

8. The eighth, his son, was called Acharbar Padsha, the great King or Emperor that is most mighty, or the King most mighty.

9. The ninth, his son, was called Almozaphar, Noor, Dein, Gehangeir, Padsha, Gaze, the most warlike and victorious King, the Light of Religion, and the Conqueror of the world.

Here are very high titles taken by Tamerlane and his successors; and the lower we go, the greater still they are; but the last of them swells biggest of all, calling himself, amongst other fancies, the Conqueror of the World, and so he conceits himself to be: as they write
of

of Thrasyllus the Athenian, who believed that all the ships on the sea were his own, and therefore he would call them *my ships*, when ever he saw them floating on the waters; and thus the great Mogul imagines all the Kings, nations, and people of the world, to be his slaves and vassals.

And therefore, when the Grand Signior, or Great Turk, sent an Ambassador to the Great Mogul, who came unto him attended with a great train and retinue; and after, when he was ready to take his leave, desired of the Mogul to know what he should say to his master when he was returned; tell thy master, said the Mogul, that he is my slave, for my ancestor conquered him.

The Mogul feeds and feasts himself with this conceit, that he is Conqueror of the World; and therefore I conceive that he was troubled upon a time, when my Lord Ambassador having business with him; and upon those terms there is no coming unto that King empty handed, without some present or other, (of which more afterward) and having at that time nothing left, which he thought fit to give him, presented him with Mercator's great book of Cosmography, (which the Ambassador had brought thither for his own use) telling the Mogul that that book described the four parts of the world, and all the several countries in them contained. The Mogul at the first seemed to be much taken with it, desiring

desiring presently to see his own territories, which were immediately shewn to him; he asked where were those countries about them; he was told Tartaria and Persia, as the names of the rest which confine with him; and then causing the book to be turn'd all over, and finding no more to fall to his share, but what he first saw, and he calling himself the Conqueror of the World, and having no greater share in it, seemed to be a little troubled, yet civilly told the Ambassador, that neither himself, nor any of his people, did understand the language in which that book was written, and because so, he further told him that he would not rob him of such a Jewel, and therefore returned it unto him again.

And the truth is, that the Great Mogul might very well bring his action against Mercator and others who describe the world, but streighten him very much in their maps, not allowing him to be lord and commander of those provinces which properly belong unto him.

But it is true likewise that he, who hath the greatest share on the face of the earth, if it be compared with the whole world, appears not great: as it was said of the lands of Alcebiades, that compared with the globe of the whole earth, they did not appear bigger than a small tittle. The Mogul's territories are more apparent, large, and visible, as any one may take notice, who strictly views this af-
fixed

fixed map, which is a true representation of that great empire in its large dimensions. So that although the Mogul be not master of the whole world, yet hath he a great share in it, if we consider his very large territories, and his abundant riches, as will after more appear; whose wealth and strength makes him so potent, as that he is able, whensoever he pleaseth, to make inroads upon, and to do much mischief unto any of his neighbours: but I leave that, and come now to speak,

S E C T I O N XXIII.

Of the Mogul's Policy in his Government, exercised by himself and Substitutes, &c.

AND it is that indeed, which is the worst of all governments, called by Aristotle ~~Arbitrary~~ arbitrary, illimited, tyrannical, such as a most severe master useth to servants, not that which a good King administreth to Subjects. Which makes it very uncomfortable for those that live as subjects there, under the command of others, taller than themselves by their sword's length; or so to be fixed in any part of the world;

— *Where no laws resist*

The sword, but that it acteth what it lists;

As in that empire, where the King measureth his power by his sword or lance, in making
his

his will, his guide, and therefore any thing lawful that likes him; which carriage of his might very well become that emblem of illimited power, which is a sword waved by a strong arm and hand, and the words *sic volo, sic jubeo*, or thus will I have it; and if any there be so far discontented as to make any the least question at what he doth, he hath a far stronger argument still in readiness, than all the force of logic can make, and that is very many thousands of men, that are stout and able soldiers, whom he keeps continually in arms and pay, that can make any thing good which he shall please to command.

There are no laws for government kept in that empire upon record (for ought I could ever learn) to regulate governors there in the administration of justice, but what are written in the breast of that King and his substitutes, and therefore they often take liberty to proceed how they please, in punishing the offender, rather than the offence; men's persons, more than their crimes; *agrotum potius, quam morbum*.

Yet ever they pretend to proceed in their ways of judicature (which is the right progress, in judgment) *secundum allegata & probata*, by proofs, and not by presumptions.

The great Mogul will sit himself as judge, in any matters of consequence that happen near unto him: and there are no malefactors that lie more than one night in prison, and

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many

many times not at all; for if the party offending be apprehended early in the day, he is immediately brought before him that must be his judge, by whom he is presently either acquitted or condemned; if he be sentenced to be whipt, he hath his payment, and that usually with very much severity, in the place often where he received that sentence. If condemned to die, he is presently (which as I apprehend it is a very hard course, though used anciently among the Jews) carried from his sentence to his execution, which is done usually in the Bazar, or market-place. And this round and quick justice keeps the people there in such order and awe, as that there are not many executions.

Murder and theft they punish with death, and with what kind of death the judge pleaseth to impose; for some malefactors are hang'd, some beheaded, some impaled, or put upon sharp stakes (a death which hath much cruelty, and extreme torture and torment in it) some are torne in pieces by wild beasts, some kill'd by elephants, and others stung to death by snakes.

Those which are brought to suffer death by elephants (some of which vast creatures are train'd up to do execution on malefactors) are thus dealt withal: First, if that over-grown beast be commanded by his rider to dispatch that poor trembling offender presently, who lies prostrate before him, he will with his broad
foot

foot immediately press him to death; but if that wretched creature be condemn'd *ita mori, ut se mori sentiat*, so to die as that he may feel tortures and torments in dying (which are so many several deaths) the elephant will break his bones by degrees, as men are broken upon the wheel, as first his legs, then his thighs, after that the bones in both his arms; this done, his wretched spirit is left to breath its last out of the midst of those broken bones.

But it is a very sad thing, and very much unbecoming a man, as he is a man, to seem to take pleasure in executing of punishment, as those appear to do, who make it their business to study and invent tortures to inflict on others.

Thus those monsters of men did (in the primitive times of Christianity) devise new torments for the exercise of the faith and patience of Christians, which in their relations are extreme hard and sad to read of, much more in their suffering of them were they to be endured: yet almighty God did then so support his people in the midst of all those grievous extremities they were made to suffer; that their tormentors were more troubled to invent, than they were to endure tortures; so that they overcame, while they were overcome, and were not more than men, but more than conquerors over those who seemed to conquer them.

I cannot deny but that the strength of pride may carry men very far, the strength

of delusion much further ; as we may observe from the examples of the antient Stoicks, and since them from others, whose frantic opinions have made so prodigal of their limbs and lives, as that they would seem very little to regard extremity of tortures and sufferings, yea death itself.

When one told Theodorus (Seneca the philosopher reports the story) that he would hang him up alive in the air, he answered thus ; *minutare istud purpuratis tuis, &c.* threaten this to thy Carpet Knights, Theodorus cares not whether his body rot in the air, or in the earth ; and that when others were upon the rack, they would cry, *ô quam suave, &c.* oh what pleasure is there in racking. Now what piety wrought in others, pride and delusion wrought in these.

The truth is, *non pœna, sed causa facit Martyrem* ; it is not a man's suffering, but the reason of it, which made a martyr ; and therefore (however others bear things out) they, and they only to whom it is given not only to believe, but also to suffer, can behold their sufferings so with a clear eye of faith, that though they be intolerable in themselves, and seem so to others, yet are they made easy to them. Ignatius ran to the stake and kissed it, at which he was presently burnt. Others have embraced those flames which immediately after turn'd them into ashes ; whence tyrants and persecutors have often served, though much against
their

their wills, to build and enlarge the church of Christ; as the persecution of Stephen served to spread the doctrine of salvation, in the countries thereabouts, and to raise up a number of churches; that happening to persecutors, which might happen to a man, who to put out a quick fire of burning coals, should scatter them all over his chamber, and so set on fire his whole house. The church of Christ hath ever gained in persecution what it hath lost in prosperity. Therefore those Christians in the primitive church, when they were tortured, would not accept of deliverance, Heb. xi. 35. that is, accept of it upon any sinful terms; and in the 138th of the same chapter, they received or took possession of the promises which they had only in hope afar off, and embraced them, as if they had had them in hand *ἀπολαύοντες*, they hugg'd them, they kiss'd them, as resting abundantly satisfied with the hope and expectation of them.

If in this life only the people of God had hope, then were they of all men most miserable, for they are here as some chief and tender plants of another country, who have much ado to live and grow; whereas the wicked, like weeds, thrive without watering. The Devil is called the prince of the world, and therefore it would be very strange, if any of God's people should find very much content where Satan hath so much to do. Here in this world, *optimi pessimè agunt*, the best

35. ¹⁶

usually fare worst, and the righteous have most wrong. But it will not always be thus ; a time of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord, and then all tears shall be wiped from his people's eyes, and all sadness shall be removed from their spirits. *Nec Malleus Tyrannorum, nec securis persecutionis*, and (as one of the ancients sweetly comforts) when the hammer of tyranny cannot touch, nor the ax of persecution hurt them, for they shall be out of the reach of all fears, troubles, annoyances, which make their lives here sometimes for the present seem bitter unto them.

Without doubt, the services of God's people would be very ill rewarded, if they should continue here in this life still : but God, who lends them to the world, owes them a far better turn than the whole earth can pay them ; and therefore, when he sees good, removes them hence, because it is for their preferment ; in the mean time, though the miseries of God's people be great, their days are short. And although almighty God do not say it vocally, yet secretly he speaks to all his people ; as sometimes he did to Moses, after he had done all the works which he had appointed him to do here ; he bids him go up to Mount Nebo, and die there, Deut. xxxii. 50. go up and die ; as if he had said, go up and eat. So Joseph before him said unto his brethren, I die, Gen. 50. 24. as if he had said, I eat, I drink, I sleep. It is neither news or
strange

strange for any dear servant of God to think of dying; because he knows that he shall part with nothing by death, but what is a burden to him, his sin; lose nothing by dying, but what he would fain be rid of, his corruption.

Hence the ancient fathers naming the death of the faithful their birth, and the day of their martyrdom the day of their nativity, shewed what great satisfaction and content they had in the thought and hope of the life to come. In the mean time they beheld their sufferings, whatsoever they were, so with the eye of faith (as before) that it made them easy to be endured, while they looked not at things which were seen, or did not much regard them, but at the things which were not seen; for the things they saw, or felt here, how bitter or sharp soever they were, were temporal, transient, would have an end; but the things they saw not, but assuredly expected, were eternal, where they should find weight of glory for lightness of affliction, 2 Cor. iv. 17, 18. And therefore said the same Apostle, Rom. viii. 18. "I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared unto the glory which shall be revealed." I reckon λογίζομαι, it is a metaphor, either taken from accountants, that put many particulars into one entire sum; or else from logicians, who draw certain or infallible conclusions from foregoing premises. Thus I reckon, or I conclude, when I compare profit or loss

together, as what I shall certainly gain, and what I may happily lose by the profession of the Gospel; when I have put all crosses and incumbrances in the one scale, and the recompence of the reward in the other, it amounts all to this, that the eternal weight of the crown doth exceedingly outweigh the momentary weight of the cross./

Thus it is with all men, who in their greatest pressures can see further than earth, as that first martyr, professing the gospel, Stephen, did, who died not upon a bed of down, but under a shower of stones, yet could out of that terrible and thick storm look into Heaven; and so do others, who can behold whatsoever they feel with the eye of faith; and this is like that tree which Moses cast into the bitter waters of Marah, and it made them sweet, *Exod. 15*. But as for others I have named, and shall further name, to behold their sufferings and torments, only with the eye of sense, it must needs make their tortures (however they bear them out) out of measure to torment.

I have been told by some, who were eye witnesses, (whom I dare credit, and therefore I dare relate it) of strange kinds of death executed by the command of the King of Japan upon his subjects, where some are crucified, or nailed to a cross; others rather roasted than burnt to death; thus, there is a stake set up, and a circle of fire at a pretty distance
made

made round about it; the condemned person being naked, is so fasten'd to that stake, as that he may move round about it, and so he doth as long as he is able to stir, 'till his flesh begins to blister; then he falls down, and there lies roaring, 'till the fire made about him puts him to silence, by taking away both his voice and life.

Now they say that one great reason, why they put men there unto such exquisite torments, is, because they hold it a thing of the greatest dishonour there for any man to die by the hand of an executioner; therefore they are usually commanded, when they are sentenced to die, to rip up or cut open their own bellies; and those who will not so do, are tormented in dying. Hence most of those people, when they have received that hard command, to prevent death by dying, call for their friends about them, eat, and seem to be merry with them, and then in the close of the meal, and in their presence, commit this sad slaughter upon themselves; as first those poor wretches make themselves naked to the middle, he or they who are to die; then the most wretched self-murderer, who is to act that bloody part, strikes a sharp knife into the bottom of his belly, then rips himself up, and after gives himself one other cut across his belly; and when he hath done both these, if after he can but wipe his bloody knife upon a white paper, or napkin that is laid by him, he

he is believed to part with his life with a very great deal of honour, and immediately (as he is made to believe) goes to Fakaman, who they say is the God of war. So much power the Devil hath in those dark places of the world, to make the people there do what he please. Oh 'tis a misery of all miseries here, to be a drudge, a bond-man, a slave to the Devil ! as those, and so infinite multitudes more professing Christ are, by obeying Satan in his most unreasonable commands, and yet will not be made sensible of that, their basest bondage.

But to return again to the place from whence I have made some excursion : when I was in India, there was one sentenced by the Mogul himself, for killing his own father, to die thus ; first he commanded that this parricide should be bound alive by his heels, fasten'd to a small iron chain, which was tied to the hind leg of a great elephant, and then that this elephant should drag him after him one whole remove of that King, from one place to another, which was about ten miles distant, that so all his flesh might be worn off his bones ; and so it was, when we saw him in the way following that King in his progress, for he appeared then to us a skeleton, rather than a body.

There was another condemned to die by the Mogul himself, (while we were at Amadavar) for killing his own mother ; and at this the King was much troubled to think of a
death

death suitable for so horrid a crime ; but upon a little pause, he adjudged him to be stung to death by snakes, which was accordingly done. I told you before, that there are some mountebanks there, which keep great snakes to shew tricks with them : one of those fellows was presently called for to bring his snakes to do that execution ; who came to the place where that wretched creature was appointed to die, and found him there all naked, (except a little covering before) and trembling. Then suddenly the mountebank (having first angered and provoked the venomous creatures) put one of them to his thigh, which presently twin'd itself about that part, 'till it came near his groin, and there bit him 'till blood followed ; the other was fasten'd to the outside of his other thigh, twining about it, (for those snakes thus kept are long and slender) and there bit him likewise ; notwithstanding the wretch kept upon his feet near a quarter of an hour, before which time the snakes were taken from him ; but he complained exceedingly of a fire that with much torment had possessed all his limbs, and his whole body began to swell exceedingly, like Nasidius, bit by a Libian serpent, called a Prester, of whom Mr. May, in his translation of Lucan, the ninth book, thus writes :

*His face and cheeks a sudden fire did roast ;
His flesh and skin were stretch'd, his shape was lost.*

His

*His swelling body is distended far,
Past human growth, and undistinguish'd are
His limbs; all parts the poison doth confound,
And he lies hid in his own body drown'd.*

Now much after this manner did the stinging of those snakes work upon that wretch, and about half an hour after they were taken from him, the soul of that unnatural monster left his growing carcase, and so went to its place. And certainly both those I last named so sentenced, and so executed, most justly deserved to be handled with all severity, for taking away the lives of those from whom they had receiv'd their own. Some of our family did behold the execution done upon the latter, who related all the passages of it; and for my part I might have seen it too, but that I had rather go a great way not to see, than one step to behold such a sight.

After the example of that King, his governors deputed and set over provinces and cities proceed in the course of justice, to impose what punishment and death they please upon all offenders and malefactors.

That King never suffers any of his vicegerents to tarry long in one place of government, but removes them usually (after they have exercised that power, which was given to them in one place, for one year) unto some other place of government, remote from the former, wherein they exercise their power;
and

and this that King doth, that those which be his substitutes may not in any place grow popular.

I told you before, that this people are very neat, shaving themselves so often, as that they feel the razor almost every day; but when that King sends any of them unto any place of government, or on any other employment, they cut not their hair at all, 'till they return again into his presence; as if they desired not to appear beautiful, or to give themselves any content in this while they live out of the King's sight; and therefore the King, as soon as he sees them, bids them cut their hair.

When the Mogul by letters sends his commands to any of his governors, those papers are entertain'd with as much respect as if himself were present; for the governor having intelligence that such letters are come near him, himself with other inferior officers ride forth to meet the Patamar, or messenger that brings them, and as soon as he sees those letters, he alights from his horse, falls down on the earth, and then takes them from the messenger and lays them on his head, whereon he binds them fast, and then returning to his place of public meeting, for dispatch of businesses, he reads them, and answers their contents with all care and diligence.

The King oft' times in his own person, and so his substitutes appointed governors for provinces

vinces and cities, judge in all matters criminal that concern life and death. There are other officers to assist them, which are called *Cut-walls*, (whose office is like that of our sheriffs in England) and these have many substitutes under them, whose business it is to apprehend and bring before these judges such as are to be tried for things criminal or capital, where the offender (as before) knows presently what will become of him. And those officers wait likewise on other judges there which are called *Cadees*, who only meddle with contracts and debts, and other businesses of this nature 'twixt man and man. Now these officers arrest debtors, and bring them before those judges, and their sureties too, bound as with us in contracts, confirmed (as before) under their hands and seals, and if they give not content unto those which complain of them, they will imprison their persons, where they shall find and feel the weight of fetters; nay, many times they will sell their persons, their wives and children into bondage, when they cannot satisfy their debts; and the custom of that country bears with such hard and pitiless courses, such as was complain'd of by the poor widow unto the prophet *Elisha*, who when her husband was dead, and she not able to pay, the creditor came and took her two sons to be bond-men, 2 King. iv. 1.

The Mogul looked to be presented with some thing or other, when my Lord Ambassador

sador came to him, and if he saw him often empty handed, he was not welcome ; and therefore the East-India company were wont every year to send many particular things unto him, in the name of the King of England, that were given him at several times, especially then when the Ambassador had any request unto him, which made a very fair way unto it.

Among many other things, when my Lord Ambassador first went thither, the company sent the Mogul an English coach, and harness for four horses, and an able coachman to suit and manage some of his excellent horses, that they might be made fit for that service. The coach they sent was lined within with crimson China velvet ; which when the Mogul took notice of, he told the Ambassador that he wondered that the King of England would trouble himself so much, as to send unto China for velvet to line a coach for him, in regard that he had been informed that the English King had much better velvet near home, for such or any other uses.

And immediately after, the Mogul caused that coach to be taken all to pieces, and to have another made by it, for (as before) they are a people that will make any new thing by a pattern ; and when his new coach was made according to the pattern, his workmen first putting the English coach together, did so with that they had new made ; then pulling
out

out all the China velvet which was in the English coach, there was in the room thereof put a very rich stuff, the ground silver, wrought all over in spaces with variety of flowers of silk, excellently well suited for their colours, and cut short like a plush; and instead of the brass nails that were first in it, there were nails of silver put in their places. And the coach which his own workmen made, was lined and seated likewise with a richer stuff than the former, the ground of it gold, mingled like the other with silk flowers, and the nails silver and double gilt; and after having horses and harness fitted for both his coaches, he rode sometimes in them, and contracted with the English coachman to serve him, whom he made very fine, by rich vests he gave him, allowing him a very great pension; besides, he never carried him in any of those coaches, but he gave him the reward of ten pounds at the least, which had raised the coachman unto a very great estate, had not death prevented it, and that immediately after he was settled in that great service.

The East-India company sent other presents for that King, as excellent pictures, which pleased the Mogul very much, especially if there were fair and beautiful women portrayed in them. They sent likewise swords, rapiers, excellently well hatcht, and pieces of rich embroidery to make sweet bags, and rich gloves, handsome looking-glasses, and
other

other things, to give away, that they might have always some things in readiness to present, both to the King, and also to his governors, where our factories were settled; for all these were like those rulers of Israel, mentioned Hosea iv. 18. who would love to say with shame, give ye. They looked to be presented with something, when our factors had any especial occasion to repair to them; and if the particular thing they then presented did not like them well, they would desire to have it exchanged for something else; happily they having never heard of our good and modest proverb, that a man must not look into the mouth of a given horse. And it is a very poor thing indeed, which is freely given, and is not worth the taking.

The Mogul sometimes by his Firmauns, or letters patent, will grant some particular things unto single or divers persons, and presently after will contradict those grants by other letters, excusing himself thus; that he is a great and an absolute King, and therefore must not be tied unto any thing; which if he were, he said that he was a slave, and not a free man: Yet what he promised, was usually enjoyed, although he would not be tied to a certain performance of his promise. Therefore, there can be no dealing with this King upon very sure terms, who will say and unsay, promise and deny. Yet we Englishmen did not at all suffer by that inconstancy of his, but there

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found

found a free trade, a peaceable residence, and a very good esteem with that King and people; and much the better (as I conceive) by reason of the prudence of my Lord Ambassador, who was there (in some sense) like Joseph in the court of Pharoah, for whose sake all his nation there seemed to fare the better. And we had a very easy way, upon any grievance, to repair to that King, as will appear now in my next section, which speaks,

S E C T I O N XXIV.

Of the King's shewing himself three Times publicly unto his People every Day, and in what State and Glory he doth oftentimes appear.

FIRST, early in the morning, at that very time the sun begins to appear above the horizon, he appears unto his people in a place very like unto one of our balconies, made in his houses, or pavilions for his morning appearance, directly opposite to the east, about seven or eight feet high from the ground; against which time a very great number of his people, especially of the greater sort, who desire as often as they can to appear in his eye, assemble there together, to give him the Salam, or good morning, crying all out, as soon as they see their King, with a loud voice, Padsha Salamet, which signifies, live O great King,

King, or O great King health and life, (as all the people cried 1 King. i. 39. God save King Solomon; and thus they clapped their hands for joy, when Jehoash was made King, or let the King live. 2 King. 11. 12.) At noon he shews himself in another place like the former, on the south-side; and a little before sun-set, in a like place, on the west side of his house or tent; but as soon as the sun forsakes the hemisphere, he leaves his people, ushered in and out with drums and wind instruments, and the people's acclamations.

At both which times likewise, very great numbers of his people assemble together, to present themselves before him: And at any time of these three times, he that hath a suit to the King, or desires justice at his hands, be he poor or rich, if he hold up a petition to be seen, shall be heard and answered.

And between seven and nine of the clock at night, he sits between his house or tent more privately, in a spacious place called his Goozalcan, or bathing house, made bright like day by abundance of lights; and here the King sits mounted upon a stately throne; where his nobles, and such as are favoured by him, stand about him; others find admittance too, but by special leave from his guard, who cause every one that enters that place to breath upon them, and if they imagine that any have drank wine, they keep him out.

At this time my Lord Ambassador made his usual addresses to him, and I often waited on

him thither, and it was a good time to do business with that King, who then was for the most part very pleasant, and full of talk unto those which were round about him, and so continued 'till he fell asleep, oft' times by drinking) and then all assembled immediately quitted the place, besides those which were his trusted servants, who by turns watched his person.

The Mogul hath a most stately, rich, and spacious house in Agra, his metropolis, or chief city, which is called his palace royal, wherein there are two towers, or turrets, about ten feet square, covered with massy gold, as ours are usually with lead: this I had from Tom. Coriat, as from other English merchants who keep a factory in that place. And further they told me, that he hath a most glorious throne within that his palace, ascended by divers steps, which are covered with plate of silver, upon the top of which ascent stand four lions upon pedestals of curiously coloured marble; which lions are all made of massy silver, some part of them gilded with gold, and beset with precious stones. Those lions support a canopy of pure gold, under which the Mogul sits, when he appears in his greatest state and glory.

For the beauty of that court, it consists not in gay and gorgeous apparel; for the country is so hot, that they cannot endure any thing that is very warm or massy, or rich about them.

The

The Mogul himself, for the most part, is covered with a garment (as before described) made of pure white and fine callico lawn, and so are his nobles, which garments are washed after one day's wearing. But for the Mogul, though his cloathing be not rich and costly, yet I believe that there is never a monarch in the whole world that is daily adorned with so many jewels as himself is. Now they are jewels which make men's covering most rich, such as people in other parts sometimes wear about them, that are otherwise most meanly habited; to which purpose, I was long since told by a gentleman of honour sent as a companion to the old Earl of Nottingham, when he was employed as an extraordinary ambassador by King James, to confirm the peace made 'twixt himself and the King of Spain, which ambassador had a very great many gentlemen in his train, in as rich cloathing as velvets and silks could make; but then there did appear many a great Don, or Grandee in the Spanish court, in a long black bays cloak and cassock, which had one hatband of diamonds, that was of more worth by far than all the bravery of the Ambassador's many followers.

But for the Mogul, I wonder not at his many jewels, he being (as I conceive) the greatest and richest master of precious stones that inhabits the whole earth. For diamonds,

cious stones) they are found in Decan, where the rocks are, out of which they are digged; the princes whereof are the next neighbours and tributaries to the great Mogul; and they pay him as tribute many diamonds yearly; and further, he hath the refusal of all those rich stones they sell, he having gold and silver in the greatest abundance, (and that will purchase any thing but Heaven) and he will part with any money for any gems beside, that are precious and great, whether rubies, or any other stones of value, as also for rich pearls.

And his grandees follow him in that fancy; for one of his great lords gave our merchants there twelve hundred pounds sterling for one pearl, which was brought out of England. The pearl was shaped like a pear, very large, beautiful, and orient, and so its price deserved it should be.

Now the Mogul having such an abundance of Jewels, wears many of them daily, enough to exceed those women, which Rome was wont to shew in their starlike dresses, who in the height and prosperity of that empire

*Were said to wear
The spoils of nations in one ear.*

Or Lollia Paulina, who was hid with jewels. For the great Mogul, the diamonds, rubies, and pearls, which are very many and daily worn by him, are all of an extraordinary great-

greatness, and consequently of an exceeding great value. And besides those he wears about his shaft, or head covering, he hath a long chain of jewels hanging about his neck, as long as an ordinary gold chain, others about his wrists, and the hilts of his sword and dagger are most curiously enriched with those precious stones; besides others of very great value; which he wears in rings on his fingers.

*Kentilat astrivum digitis sudantibus aurum,
Nec sufferre queat majoris Pondera gemma.*

JUV. SAT. 1.

He airs his sweaty fingers with rings freight,
And jewels, as if burden'd with their weight.

The first of March the Mogul begins a royal feast, like that which Ahasuerus made in the third year of his reign, Esth. 1. wherein he shewed the riches of his glorious kingdom. This feast the Mogul makes, is called the Noorroos, that signifies nine days, which time it continues, to usher in the new year, which begins with the Mahometans there the tenth day of March.

Against which feast, the nobles assemble themselves together at that court in their greatest pomp, presenting their King with great gifts, and he requiting them again with princely rewards; at which time I being in his presence, beheld most immense and incredible riches, to my amazement, in gold, pearls,

precious stones, jewels, and many other glittering vanities. This feast is usually kept by the Mogul while he is in his progress, and lodges in tents.

Whether his diet at this time be greater than ordinary, I know not, for he always eats in private among his women, where none but his own family see him while he is eating; which family of his consists of his wives and children, women and eunuchs, and his boys, and none but these abide and lodge in the King's houses or tents; and therefore how his table is spread, I could never know; but doubtless he hath of all those varieties this empire affords, if he so please. His food (they say) is served in unto him in vessels of gold, which covered, and brought unto him by his eunuchs, after it is proved by his tasters, he eats, not at any set times of the day, but he hath provision ready at all times, and calls for it when he is hungry; and never but then.

The first of September (which was the late Mogul's birth-day) he retaining an antient yearly custom) was in the presence of his chief grandees weighed in a ballance; the ceremony performed within his house or tent, in a fair spacious room, wherein none were admitted but by special leave. The scales in which he was thus weighed, were plated with gold, and so the beam on which they hung, by great chains made likewise of that most precious metal; the King sitting in one of them,

was

was weighed first against silver coin, which immediately after was distributed among the poor; then was he weighed against gold; after that against jewels, as they say; but I observed (being present there with my Lord Ambassador) that he was weighed against three several things, laid in silken bags on the contrary scale. When I saw him in the ballance, I thought on Belshazzar, who was found too light, Dan. 5. 27. By his weight, (of which his physicians yearly keep an exact account) they presume to guess of the present estate of his body, of which they speak flatteringly, however they think it to be.

When the Mogul is thus weighed, he casts about among the standers by thin pieces of silver, and some of gold, made like flowers of that country; and some of them are made like cloves, and some like nutmegs, but very thin and hollow. Then he drinks to his nobles in his royal wine, (as that of Ahasuerus is called, Esth. 1. 7.) who pledge his health; at which solemnity he drank to my Lord Ambassador, in a cup of gold most curiously enamelled, and set all over the outside with stones, (which were small rubies, turkeffes, and emeralds) with a cover or plate to set it on, both of pure gold, the brims of which plate, and the cover, were enamelled, and set with stones as the other, and all these together weighed 24 ounces of our English weight, which he then gave unto my Lord Ambassador, whom
he

he ever used with very much respect, and would moreover often ask him why he did not desire some good and great gifts at his hands, he being a great King and able to give it : the Ambassador would reply, that he came not thither to beg any thing of him ; all that he desired was, that his country-men, the English, might have a free, safe, and peaceable trade in his dominions. The Mogul would answer, that he was bound in honour to afford them that, we coming from the furthestmost parts of the world to trade there ; and would often bid the Ambassador to ask something for himself ; who to this would answer, that if that King knew not better to give, than he knew to ask, he must have nothing from him. Upon these terms they continually both stood ; so that in conclusion the Ambassador had no gift from him, but that before mentioned, besides an horse or two, and sometimes a vest, or upper garment, made of slight cloth of gold, which the Mogul would first put upon his own back, and then give it to the Ambassador. But the Mogul (if he had so pleased) might have bestowed on him some great princely gift, and found no greater misse of it, than there would be of a glass of water taken out of a great fountain. Yet although the Mogul had such infinite treasures, yet he could find room to store up more still ; the desires of a covetous heart being so unsatiable, as that it never knows when it hath enough ;
being

being like a bottomless purse, that can never be fill'd; for the more it hath, the more still it covets.

See an image hereof this in Alcmaeon, who being will'd by Cræsus to go into his treasure house, and there take as much gold as himself could carry away, provided for that purpose a long garment that was double down to his ancles, and great boots, and fill'd them both; nay he stuffed his mouth, and tied wedges of gold to the locks of his head; and doubtless, but for killing himself, he would have fill'd his scull and bowels therewith. Here was a heart set upon gold, and gold overlading a heart; for the man stowing so much about him, as that he could not stir with it, forfeited what he might have had; and was turned out of the treasury, as poor and empty as he came into it. He is a rich man, whatever he hath, (be it more or less) that is contented: he is a poor man who still wants more, in becoming poor by plenty, wanting what he hath, as well, as much, as what he hath not; and so do very many, who are the greatest engrossers of the world's wealth.

But certainly there is no heart more poor and barren than that which is set upon abundance; and as the ground wherein there are mines of gold and silver, and the most precious stones, is most barren; so the hearts of such as are most violently carried on after the desire of these things, are most barren like-
wife:

wife. Therefore almighty God in wisdom hath laid up treasures in the bowels of the earth secretly and basely ; secretly, that they should not be much sought after ; and basely, that they should not be too much desired nor valued. Hence the Prophet Habak. ii. 6. speaks thus to covetous men “ woe be to him that lades himself with thick clay, how long ? ” where riches are compared to thick clay, because they are but the very self-same earth we tread on, better hardened and coloured, and because they are many times a burden unto him that hath them : how long ? saith the Prophet, is there no end of encreasing ? how long ? hath the sea bars and bounds, and the desires of man in this case without all moderation ? how long ? can any ever hope to fill and satisfy their hearts with this ? let them know, that the barren womb, the unmerciful grave, and unsatiable death, will sooner be satisfied, than the hearts set upon riches find satisfaction from them ; for “ he that loveth silver, shall not be satisfied with silver ” Eccles. 5. 10. and therefore they who can come up to a right understanding of themselves in this case, will have a far greater cause to fear, than to desire abundance : which that great Emperor hath, yet still would have more. This covetousness carries men very far ; and ambition (which is a refined, or rather an heightened covetousness) still further.

I have observed much of the riches, pomp, greatness, and glory of the great Mogul : So
in

in the book of Esth. chap. i, we may read of the goodly tabernacle of King Ahafuerus, in the garden of his palace; where were white, green, and blue hangings, fastened with cords of fine linen, and purple, and silver rings, and pillars of marble: the beds were of gold and silver, upon a pavement of porphyry and alabaster, and stone of blue colour; and he gave those (whom he there feasted) drink in changes of vessels of gold, and royal wine in abundance, according to the state of the King. We may further read there of his hundred and twenty-seven provinces, and his Princes and Captains thereof, his throne and his palace at Shushan, &c. So of the treasures of Hezekiah, Isa. 39. his silver and gold, his spices and precious ointments, and armory, and all the store of his house, which he and his fathers had laid up, &c. So of Belshazzar, his thousand princes, wives and concubines, Dan. 5: O what shadows do these hundreds and thousands cast over the heads of men, to give comfort unto them for the present, and to make them say, under these coverts will we sit and be at rest, and forget that some sudden messenger from the Lord, either sickness or death, or the like, can presently deprive them of all their present enjoyments and comforts.

But the Mogul takes a course to put the remembrance of death as far from him as possibly he can; and therefore there is no man that at any time wears any blue thing in that presence, which is there the colour of mourners;

ters; neither is the name of death at any time mentioned in that King's ears; but when any one is dead, of whom his Majesty must have intelligence, the message is delivered unto him in mild, soft, flattering terms, to this purpose; "such, or such a one hath made himself a sacrifice at your Majesty's feet"—*O mors, quam acerba est memoria tua homini pacem habenti in possessionibus suis.*

'O death, how bitter are thy thoughts, to one
Who ease enjoys in his possession!
No loss he deems so great as loss of breath;
Death 'tis to such a one, to think of death.

Certainly, if death, when it comes to strike, would take money and be gone, it would in a short time engross the wealth of the whole world; but it will not; for no wit, nor wisdom, nor wealth, nor policy, nor strength, nor any thing beside, can keep off the impartial wounding hand of death. That mighty Prince we speak of, who did all he could to stave off the thought of dying, and since dead, though while he lived he denied himself nothing that might please his corrupted nature; not high and richly compounded wines, not strange flesh, nor any thing beside that might for the present give some seeming content to his brutish sensual appetite; *ut ipsum voluptas potius quam ipse voluptatem*, &c. that pleasures did possess him, rather than he pleasures; which will further appear, if we consider more,

SECTION

SECTION XXV.

Of his Pastimes, at Home and Abroad; and something of his Quality and Disposition.

NOW what he doth, and how he behaves himself amongst his houseful of wives and women, cannot be known, and therefore not related; but when he shews himself (as before) thrice openly to his people every day, he has always something or other presented before him to make him sport, and to give him present content.

As sometimes he delighteth himself in seeing horses ridden, the natives there (as before) being very excellent in their well managing of them; sometimes he saw his great elephants fight; and at other times he pleased himself in seeing wrestling, or dancing, or juggling, and what else he liked.

And it happened, that but a few years before our abode there, a juggler of Bengala (a kingdom famous for witches, and men of that profession) brought an ape before the King, (who was ever greedy to please himself with novelties) professing that he would do many strange feats; the Mogul was ready presently to make a trial of this, and forthwith called some boys about him, (which he was conceived to keep for such a use as I dare not name) and plucking a ring from his finger, gave it

it one of them to hide, that he might make a trial whether or no the ape could find it out; who presently went to the boy that had it. The Mogul made some further trials like this, where the ape did his part as before. And before the ape was taken out of his presence, this strange, following, and unexpected thing, came into the King's thought: There are (said he) many disputes in the world about that true Prophet that should come into the world; we, said the Mogul, are for Mahomet, the Persians magnify Mortis Hale (but they are Mahometans for religion likewise); the Hindoos, or Heathens there, have many whom they highly extol and magnify, as Bremaw, and Bramon, and Ram, and Permissar; the Parsees are for Zertoost; the Jews for Moses; the Christians for Christ; and he added three more, whose names I have not, who make up the number of twelve, who have all their several followers in that part of the world; and then he caused those twelve names to be written in twelve several scrolls, and put together, to see if the ape could draw out the name of the true Prophet; this done, the ape put his paw amongst them, and pull'd forth the name of Christ. The Mogul a second time caused those twelve names to be written again in twelve other scrolls and characters, and put together, when the ape as before pull'd forth the name of Christ.

Then Mahobet-Chan, a great nobleman of that court, and in high favour with the King,
said

said that it was some imposture of the Christians, (though there were none that did bear that name there present) and desired that he might make a third trial; which granted, he put but eleven of those names together, reserving the name of Christ in his hand; the ape searching as before, pull'd forth his paw empty, and so twice or thrice together; the King demanding a reason for this, was answered, that happily the thing he looked for was not there; he was bid to search for it; and then putting out those eleven names, one after the other, in a seeming indignation rent them; then running to Mahomet-Chan, he caught him by the hand where the name of Christ was concealed; which delivered, he opened the scroll, and so held it up to the King, but did not tear it as the former; upon which the Mogul took the ape, and gave his keeper a good pension for to keep him near about him, calling him the *divining ape*; and this was all that followed upon this admirable thing, except the great wonder and amazement of that people.

There was one some years since wrote this story (but somewhat varied from that I have here related) in a little printed pamphlet, and told his reader that I had often seen that ape while I lived in those parts; which particular he should have left out: But for the relation itself, I believe it was so, because it hath been often confirmed there in its report unto

me by divers persons, who knew not one another, and were differing in religion; yet all agreed in the story, and in all the circumstances thereof.

This I am sure of, that almighty God, who can do what he will do, (for all things are so far from being impossible to him, that nothing is hard) can do wonderful things by the weakest means, that the weaker the instruments are, the more glory may be ascribed unto him while he acts by them.

In the sacred story, Pharoah had no sooner asked, who is the Lord? Ex. 5. but presently some of the weakest of the creatures rise up, and appear (as it were in arms) to tell him who the Lord was; so that he who formerly thought that there was no power, either in Heaven or earth, to master or contradict him, is presently confuted and conquered by frogs, flies, lice, and caterpillars, by those poor, infirm, silly, and most despicable creatures; who when they had entered the lists, would not give proud Pharoah over, 'till they had humbled him, and magnified their maker, *virtus Dei in infirmitate*. Balaam's ass had more discovered unto him than unto his rider; and so had this ape (as it should seem) more than to his beholders, or to his keeper.

Now for the disposition of that King, it ever seemed unto me to be composed of extremes; for sometimes he was barbarously cruel, and at other times he would seem to be exceeding fair and gentle.

For

For his cruelties, he put one of his women to a miserable death; one of his women he had formerly touched and kept company with, but now she was superannuated; for neither himself nor nobles (as they say) come near their wives or women, after they exceed the age of thirty years. The fault of that woman was this; the Mogul upon a time found her and one of his eunuchs kissing one another; and for this very thing, the King presently gave command that a round hole should be made in the earth, and that her body should be put into that hole, where she should stand with her head only above ground, and the earth to be put in again unto her close round about her, that so she might stand in the parching sun 'till the extreme hot beams thereof did kill her; in which torment she lived one whole day, and the night following, and almost 'till the next noon, crying out most lamentably, while she was able to speak, in her language; as the Shumanite's child did in his, 2 King. 4. "Ah my head, my head!" which horrid execution, or rather murder, was acted near our house; where the eunuch, by the command of the said King, was brought very near the place where this poor creature was thus buried alive, and there in her sight cut all into pieces.

That great King would be often overcome by wine, yet (as if he meant to appropriate that sin to himself) would punish others with

very much severity, who were thus distempered.

I have long since heard a story which is somewhat parallel to this; that in former times, when this land in which we live did not so much stink of that beastly sin of drunkenness, which robs a man of himself, and leaves a beast in the skin of a man; I say, when drunkenness in England was not so common, there was a justice of peace in this nation (and I believe that the story is very true) who laid a poor butcher by the heels, for presuming to be drunk; telling him, that he was but a poor beggarly fellow, and he presume to be drunk, and therefore he would punish him; saying further, that it was enough for his eldest son so to be, &c. but this by the way.

Sometimes, for little or no faults, the Mogul would cause men to be most severely whipped, 'till they were almost ready to die under the rod; which after they must kiss in thankfulness.

He caused one of his servants of the higher rank, to be very much whipt, for breaking a china cup he was commanded to keep safe, and then sent him into China (which is a marvellous distance from thence) to buy another.

Sometimes, in other of his mad distempers, he would condemn men to servitude, or dismember, or else put them to death, as sacrifices to his will and passion, not justice: So that

that it might be said of him, *quando male, nemo pejus*, that when he did wickedly, none could do worse; as if it had been true of him, which was spoken of that monster Nero, observed before, who was called *Lutum sanguine maceratum*, dirt soaked in blood.

For his good actions, he did relieve continually many poor people, and not seldom would shew many expressions of duty and strong affections to his mother, then living; so that he who esteemed the whole world as his vassals, would help to carry her in a palankeen upon his shoulders; and in this he did exceedingly differ from that most unnatural and cruel Nero, who most barbarously killed his own mother Agrippina, causing (as they write) that bed, in which he was conceived, and from whence born, and wherein he took up his first lodging, to be ript up and spoiled.

And he would speak most respectfully of our blessed Saviour Christ; but his parentage, his poverty, and his cross, did so confound his thoughts, that he knew not what to think of them; (as Bernard complained of some in his time, that they took offence at the clouts and rags of our blessed Saviour, at the humility and meanness of his birth) believing that it could not stand with the majesty of the Son of God, to appear in the world in such meanness as he did; though he had been told that Christ Jesus came into the world in that low condition, that he might beat down the pride

thereof. And that at his first coming, he came for sinners, and then he came in great humility; but at his second coming, he shall come against sinners, and then will he appear in power and great glory.

Lastly, the Mogul is very free and noble unto all those which fall into, and abide in his affection; which brings me now to speak,

SECTION XXVI.

Of the exceeding great Pensions the Mogul gives unto his Subjects; how they are raised, and how long they are continued, &c.

WHICH great revenues that many of them do enjoy, makes them to live like great Princes, rather than other men. Now for those pensions, which are so exceeding great, the Mogul in his far extended monarchy, allows yearly pay for one million of horse, and for every horse and man about eighteen pounds sterling per annum, which is exactly paid every year, raised by land, and other commodities which that empire affords, and are appointed for that purpose. Now some of the Mogul's most beloved nobles have the pay of six thousand horse; and there are others (at least twenty in the empire) that have the pay of five thousand horse; exceeding large pensions above the revenue of any other sub-

subjects in the whole world, they amounting unto more than one hundred thousand pounds yearly unto a particular man. Now, others have the pay of four thousand horse; others of three, or two, or one thousand horse, and so downward; and these by their proportions are appointed to have horses always in readiness, well mann'd and otherwise appointed for the King's service; so that he who hath the pay of five or six thousand, must always have one thousand in readiness, or more, according to the King's need of them, and so in proportion all the rest, which enables them on a sudden to make up the number, at the least, of two hundred thousand horse; of which number they have always at hand one hundred thousand, to wait upon the King wheresoever he is.

There are very many private men in cities and towns, who are merchants, or tradesmen, that are very rich; but it is not safe for them that are so, so to appear, lest that they should be used as fill'd sponges.

But there is never a subject in that empire, who hath land of inheritance which he may call his own; but they are tenants at the will of their King, having no other title to that they enjoy, besides the King's favour, which is by far more easily lost than gotten. It is true, that the King advanceth many there unto many great honours, and allows them (as before) marvellous great revenues; but

no son there enjoys either the titles or means of his father, that hath had pensions from that King, for the King takes possession of all when they are dead, appointing their children some competent means for their subsistence, which they shall not exceed, if they fall not into the King's affection, as their fathers did; wherefore many great men in this empire live up to the height of their means, and therefore have a very numerous train, a very great retinue to attend upon them, which makes them to appear like Princes, rather than subjects.

Yet this their necessary dependance on their King, binds them to such base subjection, as that they will yield readiness unto any of his unreasonable and wilful commands; as Plutarch writes of the soldiers of Scipio, *nullus est horum, qui non consensu turri semet in mare præcipitaturus si jussero*, that there was never a one in his army, by his own report, that would not for a word of his mouth have gone up into a tower, and cast himself thence head-long into the sea; and thus the people here will do any thing the King commands them to do; so that if he bid the father to lay hands of violence upon his son, or the son upon his father, they will do it, rather than the will of their King should be disobeyed: thus forgetting nature, rather than subjection.

And this tie of theirs (I say) upon the King's favour, makes all his subjects most
servile

fervile flatterers; for they will commend any of his actions, though they be nothing but cruelty; so any of his speeches, though nothing but folly. And when the King sits and speaks to any of his people publickly, there is not a word falls from him that is not written by some scriveners, or scribes, that stand round about him.

In the year 1618, when we lived at that court, there appeared at once, in the month of November, in their hemisphere, two great blazing stars, the one of them north, the other south; which unusual sight appeared there for the space of one month. One of those strange comets, in the north, appeared like a long blazing torch, or launce fired at the upper end; the other, in the south, was round, like a pot boiling out fire. The Mogul consulted with his flattering astrologers, who spake of these comets unto the King, as Daniel sometimes did of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, Dan. iv. 19. "My lord, the dream is to them that hate thee, and the interpretation thereof unto thine enemies"; for his astrologers told him, that he needed not trouble himself with the thought thereof, for it concerned other places and people, not him nor his. But not long after this, their season of rain (before spoken of) which was never known to fail 'till then, failed them, and this caused such a famine and mortality in the south parts of his empire, that it did very much unpeople

ple it; and in the northern part thereof (whether the Mogul then repaired) his third son, Sultan Caroom, raised and kept together very great forces, and stood upon his guard, and would not disband 'till his father had delivered his eldest son, Sultan Coohseroo, into his hands; and how (when he had him in his power) he used him, you shall after hear.

— In the mean time, take one admirable example of a very gross flatterer, but a great favourite of that King, who was noted above others of that nation to be a great neglecter of God, believing it religion enough to please the Mogul his master. This man was a soldier, of an approved valour; but upon a time, he sitting in dalliance with one of his women, she pluckt a hair from his breast (which grew about his nipple) in wantonness, without the least thought of doing him hurt; but the little wound that small and unparalleled instrument of death made, presently began to fester, and in a short time after became a cancer, incurable: in fine, when he saw that he must needs die, he uttered these words, which are worth the remembering of all that shall ever hear them, saying,—“Who would not have thought but that I, who have been so long bred a soldier, should have died in the face of mine enemy, either by a sword, or a lance, or an arrow, or a bullet, or by some such instrument of death; but now (though too late) I am forced to confess that
there

there is a great God above, whose majesty I have ever despised, that needs no bigger lance than a hair to kill an Atheist, or a despiser of his Majesty; and so desiring that those his last words might be told unto the King his master, died.

*'Till sin into the world had made a breach,
Death was not heard of; ever since in each
Poor creature may it, doth it couchant lie;
The kernel of a grape kills one; a fly
Another choaks; by a corrupted breath
Of air one dies; and others have found death
In a small bit of meat; or by a corn
Too closely cut; or by a prick of thorn.
When death comes arm'd with God's imperial word,
A hair can pierce as deep as sharpest sword.*

The Mogul never advanceth any, but he gives them a new name, and these of some pretty signification; as Pharoah did unto Joseph, when he made him great in his court, Gen. xli. 15. The new names (I say) that the Mogul gives unto those he advanceth and favours, are significant; as Asaph-Chan, the gathering, or rich lord, whose sister the Mogul married, and she was his most beloved wife, and her brother's marvellous great riches answered his name, for he died worth many millions, (as I have been informed) the greatest subject, I believe, for wealth, that ever the world had; so another of the Mogul's grantees was called Mahobet-Chan, the beloved lord;

lord ; another Chan-Jahan, the lord of my heart ; another Chan-Allaam, the lord of the world ; another Chan-Channa, the lord of lords ; he called his chief physician Mocrob-Chan, the lord of my health ; and many other names like these his grandees had, which at my being there belonged to his most numerous court.

And further, for their titles of honour there, all the King's children are called Sultans, or princes ; his daughters Sultana's, or princesses ; the next title is Nabob, equivalent to a duke ; the next Channa, or double lord, or earl ; the next Chan, a lord ; so Meirsa signifies a knight, that hath been a general, or commander in the wars ; Umbra a captain ; Haddee, a cavalier, or soldier on horseback ; who have all allowed them means by the King (as before) proportionable for the supports of their honours, and titles, and names.

His officers of state are his treasurers, who receive his revenues in his several provinces, and take care for the payment of his great pensions, which, when they are due, are paid without any delay : there his chief eunuchs, which command the rest of them, take care for the ordering of his house, and are stewards and controllers of it ; his secretaries, the masters of his elephants ; and the masters of his tents are other of his great officers ; and so are the keepers of his wardrobe, who are entrusted

By reason of that country's immoderate heat, our English cloth is not fit to make habits for that people; that of it which is sold there, is most of it for colour red, and this they employ for the most part to make coverings for their elephants and horses, and to cover their coaches, the King himself taking a very great part thereof, whose payments are very good, only the merchant must get the hands of some of his chief officers to his bill, appointed for such dispatches, which are

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are obtained as soon as desired. And this the King doth to prevent the abuses of particular and single persons.

And now that I may present my reader with the farther glory of this great King, I shall lead him where he may take a view,

S E C T I O N XXVII.

Of the Mogul's Leskar, or Camp Royal, &c.

WHICH indeed is very glorious, as all must confess, who have seen the infinite number of tents, or pavilions, there pitched together, which in a plain make a shew equal to a most spacious and glorious city. These tents, I say, when they are all together, cover such a great quantity of ground, that I believe it is five English miles at the least, from one side of them to the other, very beautiful to behold from some hill, where they may be all seen at once.

They write of Zerxes, that when from such a place he took a view of his very numerous army, consisting at the least of three hundred thousand men, he wept, saying, that in less than the compass of one hundred years, not one of that great mighty host would be alive. And to see such company then together, of all sorts of people (and I shall give a good reason presently why I believe that mixt company of men, women, and children, may make up
such

such a huge number, as before I named, if not exceed it) and to consider that death will seize upon them all, within such a space of time, and that the second death hath such a power over them, is a thing of more sad consideration.

Now to make it appear that the number of people of all sorts is so exceeding great, which here get and keep together in the Mogul's *Leskar*, or camp royal; first, there are one hundred thousand soldiers, which always wait about that King, (as before observeth) and all his *grandees* have a very great train of followers and servants to attend them there, and so have all other men according to their several qualities; and all these carry their wives and children, and whole family with them, which must needs amount to a very exceeding great number. And further to demonstrate this, when that King removes from one place to another, for the space of twelve hours, a broad passage is continually fill'd with passengers, and elephants, horses, dromedaries, camels, coaches, asses, and oxen, (on which the meaner sort of men and women, with their little children, ride) so full as they may well pass one by the other. Now in such a broad passage, and in such a long time, a very great number of people, the company continually moving on forward, may pass.

Thus this people moving on from place to place, it may be said of them, what *Salvian* speaks

speaks of Israel, while they were in their journey to the land of promise, that it was *ambulans respublica*, a walking common-wealth. And therefore that ancient people of God were called Hebrews, which signified passengers; and their dwelling so in tents, signified thus much to all the people of God in all succeeding ages, that here they dwell in moveable habitations, having no continuing city here, but they must look for one, and that is above.

It is observed of Cain, that he (a wicked man) was a tiller of the ground, (though that calling of itself deserves much commendation) or as a man fastened to the earth, whereas Abel his brother (a man fearing God) was a shepherd, which is a moving rolling occupation, from one place to another; thou tellest my flittings, saith David. Here we often shift our places, and our company, and must do so, our businesses carrying us up and down, to and fro; but our felicity hereafter shall consist in rest, in not changing for ever after, either our company or place; but when the godly man shall accomplish as an hireling his day, when his work, which God hath appointed him here to do, is done and finished, he shall lie down in peace, and receive his penny, and enjoy his reward.

The tents pitch'd in that Leskar, or camp royal, are for the most part white, like the cloathing of those which own them. But the Mogul's

Mogul's tents are red, reared up upon poles, higher by much than the other. They are placed in the midst of the camp, where they take up a very large compass of ground, and may be seen every way; and they must needs be very great, to afford room in them for himself, his wives, children, women, eunuchs, &c.

In the fore front, or outward part, or court within his tent, there is a very large room for access to him, 'twixt seven and nine of the clock at night, which (as before) is called his Goozulcan.

His tents are encompassed round with Canats, which are like our screens, to fold up together; those Canats are about ten feet high, made of narrow strong callico, and lined with the same, stiffened at every breadth with a cane; but they are strongest lined on their outside by a very great company of arm'd soldiers, that keep close about them night and day. The tents of his great men are likewise large, placed round about his. All of them, throughout the whole Leskar, reared up in such a due and constant order, that when we remove from place to place, we can go as directly to those moveable dwellings, as if we continued still in fixed and standing habitations; taking our direction from several streets and Bazars, or market-places, every one pitched upon every remove alike, upon such or such a side of the King's tents, as if they had not been at all removed.

The Mogul (which I should have observed before) hath so much wealth, and consequently so much power, by reason of his marvellous great multitudes of fighting men, which he always keeps in arms, commanding at all times as many of them as he please; that as the Moabites truly said of Israel, (while they had almighty God fighting with them and for them) so it may be said of him (if God restrain him not) that his huge companies are able to lick up all that are round about him, as the ox licketh up the grass of the field, Numb. xxij. 4.

When that mighty King removes from one place to another, he causeth drums to be beat about midnight, which is a signal token of his removing. He removes not far at one time, sometimes ten miles, but usually a less distance, according to the best convenience he may have for water; there being such an infinite company of men, and other creatures, whose drink is water, that in a little time it may be as truly said of them, as it was of that mighty host of Sennacherib, that Assyrian monarch, Isa. xxxvii. 25, that they are able to drink up rivers.

But when the place he removed to afforded plenty of good water, he would usually stay there three or four days, or more; and when he thus rested in his progress, would go abroad to find out pastimes; to which end he always carried with him divers kinds of hawks, dogs,

dogs, and leopards, which (as before) they train up to hunt with; and being thus provided for variety of sports, would fly at any thing in the air, or seize on any creature he desired to take on the earth.

The Mogul, when he was at Mandoa, (which was invironed with great woods, as before was observed) sometimes with some of his grandees, and a very great company beside of Persian and Tartarian horsemen, his soldiers, (which are stout daring men) would attempt to take some young wild elephants found in these woods, which he took in strong toils made for that purpose; which taken, were mann'd and made fit for his service. In which hunting they likewise pursued on horse-back lions, and other wild beasts, and kill'd some of them with their bows and carbines, and launces.

An heroic pastime, or rather an high and dangerous attempt becoming great personages, who, if their honour and greatness ballance, will not be taken up with small things; *Imperia dura tolle, quid virtus erit*, things difficult in their doing, make them more honourable when done; *aquila non capit muscas*, gnats and flies are not pursued by eagles.

In tauros Lybici rant leones,

Nam sunt papilionibus molesti. Hor.

Thus on chac'd bulls the Lybian lion hies,
But troubles not the painted butterflies.

I waiting upon my Lord Ambassador two years and part of a third, and travelling with him in progress with that King, in the most temperate months there, 'twixt September and April, we were in one of our progresses 'twixt Mandoa and Amadavaz nineteen days, making but short journies in a wilderness, where (by a very great company sent before us, to make those passages and places fit to receive us) a way was cut out and made even, broad enough for our convenient passage; and in the places where we pitched our tents, a great compass of ground rid, and made plain for them, by grubbing up a number of trees and bushes; yet there we went as readily to our tents, the same order being still observed in the pitching of them, as we did when they were set up in the plains; but that which here seemed unto me to be most strange, was, that notwithstanding our marvellous great company of men, women, and children, there together, that must all be fed, and the very great number of other creatures that did eat corn, as we never there wanted water, so we had so many victuallers with us, and so much provision continually brought in unto us, that we never felt there the want of any thing beside, but had it as low rates as in other places.

The Mogul's wives and women, when they are removed from place to place, are carried in coaches, (such as were before described) made up close, or in palankees on men's shoulders,

ders, or else on elephants, in pretty receptacles, surrounded with curtains, which stand up like low and little turrets upon their backs; and some of the meaner sort ride in cradles, hanging on the sides of dromedaries, all covered close, and attended by eunuchs, who have many soldiers which go before them to clear the way as they pass, they taking it very ill if any (though they cannot see them) presume so much as to look towards them; and therefore, though I could never see any of them, I shall here take the liberty to speak somewhat I have heard, and do believe.

S E C T I O N XXVIII.

Of the Mogul's Wives and Women, and something of his Children, &c.

WHOM I conceive to be women of good features, though for their colour very swarthy, which that people may call beauty, it being the complexion of them all, as the crow thinks his bird fairest; but (as before) I never observed any crooked or deformed person of either sex amongst them. For the honesty of those great men's wives and women, there is such a quick eye of jealousy continually over them, that they are made so by force, though (as they say) they are never much regarded by those great ones, after the very first and prime of their youth is past.

of every man (as before) called there the great brother. And he that inherits that monarchy, doth not openly slay his younger brothers, as the Turks do; yet it is observed, that few younger brothers of those Indostan Kings have long survived their fathers.

Yet notwithstanding that long continued custom there, for the eldest son to succeed the father in that great empire; Achabar-Sha, father of that late King, upon high and just displeasure taken against his son, for climbing up unto the bed of Anarkelee, his father's most beloved wife, (whose name signified the kernel of a pomegranate) and for other base actions of his, which stirred up his father's high displeasure against him, resolved to break that ancient custom; and therefore often in his life-time protested, that not he, but his grand-child, Sultan Coobsurroo, whom he always kept in his court, should succeed him in that empire.

And now by the way, the manner of that Achabar-Sha's death (as they report it in India) is worthy observation. That wicked King was wont often to give unto some of his nobles (whom upon secret displeasure he meant to destroy) pills prepared with poison, that should presently put them into incurable diseases; but the last time he went about to practise that bloody treachery, he died himself by his own instrument of death; for then having two pills in his hand, the one like the
other,

other, the one cordial for himself, the other corrosive, for one of his grandees he meant to purge, and flattering him with many profers of courtesy before he gave him the pill, that he might swallow it down the better, at last having held them both in the palm of his hand long, by a mistake took the poisoned pill himself, and gave him the other; which pill put the King immediately into a mortal flux of blood, which in a few days put an end to his life in his city Lahore.

—*Neque enim lex justior ulla est,
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.*

When some to kill, most deadly engines frame,
'Tis just that they themselves be caught i' the same.

Achabar-Sha thus dead, Sultan Coobfurroo his grand-child, then aged about twenty years, took his opportunity at the first bound, and ascended the regal throne at Lahore, where by a general acclamation of that very great and populous city he was pronounced and acknowledged King. His father, the late Mogul, was thus acknowledged at Agra. Two great armies were presently levied, and met together to decide the controversy; and the generality of the people within that empire, thinking it meet that the father should be King before the son, gave by far more to him than to his son, by which means Sultan Coob-

Cochinutroo was defeated and taken prisoner; and a very great many of young gallants with him; whereof his father immediately after caused to be impaled, or put upon stakes (that most cruel and tormenting death) eight hundred in two several ranks in one day, without the city Lahore, and then carried his son most disgracefully through them, bidding him to behold the men in whom he trusted. His son told him that he should have served him so, and spared the other, who did nothing in that action but upon his command; his father replied that he could serve him so presently, if he so pleased; his son will'd and desired him so to do, telling his father that he had no joy at all to live, after the beholding of so many gallant men dead. Notwithstanding the King spared his life, casting him into prison, where his eyes were sealed up (by something put before them which might not be taken off) for the space of three years; after which time that seal was taken away, that he might with freedom enjoy the light, though not his liberty. And after his father had taken him out of prison, he kept him always near about him, but with a very strong guard upon him; so that he following the King his father in his progresses, we sometimes saw him. And once he called my Lord Ambassador to him as we passed by him, asking him many questions, as how far distant our country was from them, and what we brought thither, what we car-
ried

ried thence, and how the King his father had used him since his arrival there; whether or no he had not bestowed on him some great gifts? The Ambassador told him that his business there was to obtain a free trade for his nation the English; and that being granted him, he had reward enough. The Prince reply'd that this could not be deny'd us, we coming so far to trade there with him; and the Prince further asked him how long he had been there; the Ambassador told him about two years; the Prince replied again, that it was a very great shame for the successor of Tamerlane, who had such infinite rules, to suffer a man of his quality to come so far unto him, and to live so long about him, and not to give him some royal gift; and he further added, that for himself he was a prisoner, and therefore could do him no good, but he would pray for him, and so he departed.

For that Prince, he was a gentleman of a very lovely person and fine carriage, so exceedingly beloved of the common people, that as Suetonius writes of Titus, he was *amor & delicia*, &c. the very love and delight of them; aged then about thirty-five years. He was a man who contented himself with one wife, which with all love and care accompanied him in all his streights, and therefore he would never take any wife but herself, though the liberty of his religion did admit of plurality.

It was generally believed to be the intent of his father (for he would often promise so)

to

to make this prince, his first-born, his successor, though for the present, out of some jealousy, (his being so much beloved by the people) he denied his liberty.

His father's love, brings upon him the extreme hatred of his brother Caroom, the Mogul's third son, who then lived in very great pomp and splendor at that court, aiming at that empire; to which end he put many jealousies into his father's head, (now grown in years) concerning his brother Coobsurroo, and that his father might live more secure, and out of all present fear of him, if he so pleased; upon which insinuations, partly by force, (as I observed before) and partly by intreaty of friends about the King, he was by the King put into the cruel hands of his brother Caroom; who told his father that he would have both his eyes upon him, and further so provide, that he should never have cause to fear him any more. And he was as good as his word; for presently after he had got possession of him, (though his father had given him as great a charge as possibly he could, to use him well, and to keep him honourably, and by no means to hurt him; which was all promised by Caroom to be faithfully observed) he caused his second brother, Sultan Parveen, to be poisoned, and not long after that strangled that most gallant Prince his eldest brother; which did so trouble his father, that the grief thereof, as it was strongly believed, shortened his days; who not long after this
(much

(much against his mind) made room for that murderer to succeed him in that empire ; who laid the foundation of his high advancement in the blood of his brothers ; and rather than he would have missed it, would certainly have made a way through the blood of his father likewise ; all laws of honesty, of nature, being by him thrown down, trampled under foot, forgotten, and made void, to compass and gain his most unjust ends ; as if he resolved to practise that language which Polynices, out of the height of ambition spake in the tragedy.

————— *Pro regno velim
Patriam, penates, conjugem flammis dare ;
Imperia Precio quolibet constant bene.*

SEN. Trag.

Fire on my gods, wife, country, for a crown ;
An empire can the dearest price weigh down.:

But whatsoever he might think, I am sure that the holy scriptures are stored with examples, that have fallen heavy upon usurpers and resistors of lawful authority ; as upon Corah and his confederates, swallowed up quick into the earth ; upon Zimri, burnt in his palace, which he had but immediately before usurped ; upon Absalom, hanged by his hairy scalp, as Achitophel in a halter.

Certainly they, whoever they be, who come to rule upon hard and unjust terms, shall first or last live to rue and to repent their bargain ; as Ahab did in another case, after he
had

had killed and taken possession ; And as the Emperors of this large spreading and far extended monarchy, have been like pikes in a great pond, that eat up all the lesser fishes about them, which can make no resistance ; by which they have enlarged themselves like Hell by a strong hand, and have gained what they have by force, and by force keep what they have gotten, ruling by an arbitrary and unlimited power ; so time in probability will ravel and rent all again in pieces ; for

*Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis.* HOR.

Over slav'd men dread powers do reign,
God over them is sovereign.

I shall add but a few things more to this relation, before I conclude it : And one shall be to give my reader a taste, but very briefly,

SECTION XXIX.

*Of the Manner of the Style or Writing of
that Court.*

WHICH I shall here insert, and in some measure shew, by a copy of a letter written by the great Mogul unto King James, in the Persian tongue, here faithfully translated ; which was as follows :

UNTO

UNTO a King rightly descended from his ancestors, bred in military affairs, cloathed with honour and justice, a commander worthy of all command, strong and constant in the religion which the great prophet Christ did teach King James, whose love hath bred such an impression in my thoughts, as shall never be forgotten; but as the smell of amber, or as a garden of fragrant flowers, whose beauty and odour is still increasing; so be assured my love shall still grow and increase with yours.

The letters which you sent me in behalf of your merchants, I have received; whereby I rest satisfied of your tender love towards me; desiring you not to take it ill, that I have not wrote to you heretofore; this present letter I send you to renew our loves, and herewith to certify to you, that I have sent forth my Firmaunes throughout all my countries, to this effect, that if any English ships or merchants shall arrive in any of my ports, my people shall permit and suffer them to do what they please freely, in their merchandizing causes, aiding and assisting them in all occasion of injuries that shall be offered them, that the least cause of discourtesy be not done unto them, that they may be as free, or freer than my own people.

And as now, and formerly, I have received from you divers tokens of your love; so I shall still desire your mindfulness of me by some novelties from your countries, as an argument of friendship betwixt us: for such is the custom of princes here.

As for your merchants, I have given express order throughout all my dominions, to suffer them to buy, sell, transport, and carry away at their pleasure, without the let or hindrance of any person whatsoever, all such goods and merchandizes as they shall desire to buy; and let this my letter as fully satisfy you in desired peace and love, as if my own son had been the messenger to ratify the same.

And if any in my countries, not fearing God, nor obeying their King, or any other void of religion, should endeavour to be an instrument to break this league of friendship, I would send my son Sultan Caroom, a soldier approved in the wars, to cut him off, that no obstacle may hinder the continuance and increase of our affections.

Here are likewise the compliments of two other letters of later date, sent home by Sir Thomas Row; whereof the first doth thus begin:

WHEN your Majesty shall open this letter, let your royal heart be as fresh as a small garden, let all people make reverence at your gate; let your throne be advanced higher; amongst the greatness of the Kings of the prophet Jesus, let your Majesty be the greatest; and all monarchs derive their wisdom and counsel from your breast, as from a fountain, that the law of the majesty of Jesus may revive and flourish under your protection.

The letters of love and friendship which you sent me, the present tokens of your good affection towards me, I have received by the hands of your ambassador Sir Thomas Rowe, who well deserveth to be your trusted servant, delivered to me in an acceptable and happy hour, upon which mine eyes were so fixed, that I could not easily remove them unto any other objects; and have accepted them with great joy and delight, &c.

The last letter had this beginning:

HOW gracious is your Majesty, whose greatness God preserve. As upon a rose in a garden, so are mine eyes fixed upon you. God maintain your estate, that your monarchy may prosper and be augmented, and that you may obtain all your desires worthy the greatness of your renown; and as your heart is noble and upright, so let God give you a glorious reign, because you strongly defend the law of the majesty of Jesus, which God made yet more flourishing, for that it was confirmed by miracles, &c.

What followed in both these letters, was to testify his care and love towards the English. Now all these letters were written in the Persian tongue, the court language there, and their copies were sent to the Ambassador, that he might get them translated. The originals, rolled up somewhat long, were covered with cloth of gold, sealed up on both

ends, the fashion in that court and country to make up letters, though they be not all cloathed there in such a glorious dress.

In which letters notice may be taken (what was observed before) how respectfully that King speaks of our blessed Saviour Christ. And here it will not be impertinent to speak something of those who pretend to enlarge the name of Jesus Christ in those parts, I mean,

SECTION XXX.

Of the Jesuits sent thither by their Superiors to convert People unto Christianity, &c.

IN that empire all religions are tolerated, which makes the tyrannical government there more easy to be endured. The Mogul would speak well of all of them; saying, that a man might be happy and safe in the profession of any religion; and therefore would say that the Mahometan religion was good, the Christian religion good, and the rest good; therefore the ministers of any religion find regard and esteem amongst the people. I shall speak something to this, from my own particular usage there, then very young, while I lived in those parts; yet when I was first there brought into the presence of the Mogul, immediately after my arrival at his court, I standing near the Ambassador, (for no man there

there of the greatest quality whatsoever is at any time suffered to sit in his presence) and but a little distance from that King, in his gozulcan, he sent one of his grandees to me, to let me know, that the King bad me welcome thither, that I should have a free access to him whenever I pleased, and if I would ask him any thing he would give it me, (tho' I never did ask, nor he give) and very many times afterward, when waiting on my Lord Ambassador, I appeared before him, he would still shew tokens of civility and respect to me; and I never went abroad amongst that people, but those that met me, upon this consideration, that I was a *Padræ*, (for so they call'd me) a father or minister, they would manifest in their behaviour towards me much esteem unto me.

But for the Jesuits there.—There was one of that order in Goa, (a city of the Portuguese, lying in the skirts of India) of very much fame and renown, called Jeronymo Xavere, sent for by Achabar-Sha, the late King's father, in the year 1596, to argue before him the doctrine of Christianity; there being always present a Moolaa, or Mahometan priest, and a third person, who followed no precise rule, but what the light of nature meerly led him to; and these two were to object what they could against his reasoning.

The Jesuit in the Mogul's own language (which was a great advantage to him) began

to speak first of the creation, and then of the fall of man, in which the Mahometans agree with us.

Then he laid down divers grounds to bottom his reasonings on.

That man by creation was made a most excellent creature, endued with the light of reason, which no other sublunary creature besides himself had. Then,

That man thus endued, must have some rule or law to walk by, which he could not prescribe to himself, and therefore it must be given him from above.

That this law was first given unto man from God, and afterward confirmed by prophets sent into the world in divers ages from God.

That this law thus delivered must needs be one law, in all things agreeing in itself;—and so did not the law of Mahomet.

That this thus delivered was most conformable to right reason;—and so was not the law of Mahomet.

That man, fallen from God by sin, was not able to recover himself from that fall, and therefore it was necessary that there should be one, more than a man, to do it for him;—and that that one could not be Mahomet.

That this one was Christ, God as well as man; God to satisfy (the Mahometans themselves confessing that Christ was the breath of God) and man to suffer death as he did.

That Christ the son of God coming into the world

world, about that great work of satisfying God's anger against man for sin, it was necessary that he should live a poor and laborious life here on earth, (at which the Mahometans much stumble) and not a life that was full of pomp, pleasure, and delicacy.

That the gospel of Christ, and other holy books of scripture, which the Christians retain and walk by, contain nothing in them that is corrupt and depraved;—but there is very much to be found in their Alcoran which is so.

That the great worth and worthiness shining in the person of Christ, was by far more excellent than any thing observable in Mahomet; for they themselves confess that Christ lived without sin, when Mahomet himself acknowledgeth that he had been a filthy person.

That the feigned, foolish, and ridiculous miracles, which they say were done by Mahomet, were nothing comparable to the miracles done by Christ; who, as the Mahometans confess, did greater miracles than ever were done before or since him.

That there was a great deal of difference in the manner of promulgating the gospel of Christ into the world, and the introducing of the laws of Mahomet.

That Christ hath purchased Heaven for all that believe in him; and that Hell is prepared for all others that do not rely on him, and on him alone for salvation.

There were many more particulars besides these, which that Jeronymo Xaverè laid down

before the Mogul, to ground his arguments on; which that King heard patiently at several times during the space of one year and a half; but at last he sent him away back again to Goa honourably, with some good gifts bestowed on him, telling him as Felix did Paul, after he had reasoned before him, "that he would call for him again when he had a convenient time," Acts xxiv. 25. Which time or season neither of them ever both found afterward.

These particulars which I have here inserted (with many more I might have added to them, upon all of which that Jeronymo Xavere enlarged himself before the Mogul in his arguing before him) were given unto me in Latin by Francisco Corsi, another Jesuit resident at that court, while I was there, and long before that time. And further, I have been there told by other people professing Christianity in that empire, that there was such a dispute there held, and for my part I do believe it.

For that Francisco Corsi he was a Florentine by birth, aged about fifty years, who (if he were indeed what he seemed to be) was a man of a severe life, yet of a fair and affable disposition: he lived at that court as an agent for the Portuguese, and had not only free access unto that King, but also encouragement and help by gifts, which he sometimes bestowed on him.

When this Jesuit came first to be acquainted with my Lord Ambassador, he told him that they

they were both by profession Christians, though there were a vast difference betwixt them in their professing it : and as he should not go about to reconcile the Ambassador to them ; so he told him that it would be labour in vain if he should attempt to reconcile him to us. Only he desired, that there might be a fair correspondence betwixt them, but no disputes. And further his desire was, that those wide differences 'twixt the church of Rome and us might not be made there to appear, that Christ might not seem by those differences to be divided amongst men professing Christianity, which might be a very main obstacle and hindrance unto his great design and endeavour, for which he was sent thither, to convert people to Christianity there : telling my Lord Ambassador further, that he should be ready to do him all good offices of love and service there ; and so he was.

After his first acquaintance, he visited us often, usually once a week. And as those of that society, in other parts of the world, are very great intelligencers, so was he there, knowing all news which was stirring, and might be had, which he communicated to us.

And he would tell us many stories besides ; one of which, if true, is very remarkable ; and it was thus ; there are a race of people in East-India, the men of which race have (if he told us true) their right legs extraordinary great and mishapen, their left like other mens ;

Elephan-
tis?

now he told us that they were the posterity of those who stamped St. Thomas the Apostle to death, who came thither to preach the gospel, and that ever since the men of that race have, and only they of that nation, that great deformity upon them. Some few people I have there seen, of whom this story is told; but whether that deformity be like Gehiza's leprosy, hereditary, and if so, whether it fell upon that people upon the occasion before named, I am yet to learn.

The Jesuits in East-India (for he was not alone there) have liberty to convert any they can work upon, unto Christianity, &c. the Mogul hath thus far declared, that it shall be lawful for any one, persuaded so in conscience, to become a Christian, and that he should not by so doing lose his favour.

Upon which I have one thing here to insert, which I had there by report, (yet I was bid to believe it and report it for a truth) concerning a gentleman of quality, and a servant of the great Mogul, who upon some conviction wrought upon him (as they say) would needs be baptized, and become a Christian. The King hearing of this convert, sent for him, and at first with many cruel threats commanded him to renounce that his new profession; the man reply'd that he was most willing to suffer any thing in that cause which the King could inflict.

The Mogul then began to deal with him in another way, asking him why he thought himself

himself wiser than his forefathers, who lived and died Mahometans; and further added many promises of riches and honour, if he would return to his Mahometism; he reply'd again, (as they say, for I have all this by tradition) that he would not accept of any thing in the world so to do; the Mogul wond'ring at his constancy, told him, that if he could have frightened or bought him out of his new profession, he would have made him an example for all waverers; but now that he perceived that his resolution indeed was to be a Christian, and he bid him so continue, and with a reward discharged him.

The late Mogul, about the beginning of his reign, caused a temple to be built in Agra, his chief city, for the Jesuits, wherein two of his younger brother's sons were solemnly baptized, and delivered into their hands to be trained up in Christianity. The young gentlemen growing to some stature (after they had had their tuition for some years) desired them to provide them wives out of Christendom fitting their birth; in which not having sudden content, they gave up their crucifixes again into the Jesuits hands, and so left them; who had these conjectures upon this their revolt, that either the King, their uncle, caused them to be baptised, to make them more odious to the Mahometans, being so near of his blood; or else it was his plot to get them beautiful wives out of Europe, which himself meant to take if he had liked them.

The

The Jesuit I last named, Francisco Corfi, upon a time at our being there, having his house among very many more consumed by a sudden fire, it so was that his wooden cross set on a pole near the side of his house, was not (as he said) consumed. Upon which he presently repaired to that court, carried that cross with him, and told the King thereof. The Prince Sultan Carooome, who was no favourer of the Christians, being then present, and hearing him talk how his cross was preserved, derided him, saying that it was one of his fabulous miracles; and further added, that he would have a fire presently made before the King, whereinto he would have the cross cast, and if it consumed not, his father, himself, and all the people there, would presently become Christians; but if it did, himself should be burnt with it. The Jesuit not willing to put himself upon so sudden and so hot a trial, answered that he durst not tempt God, who was not tyed to times, and it might be that almighty God would never shew that people that infinite favour to make them Christians; or if he had such a great mercy for them in store, it might be, that the time of manifesting it was not yet come; and therefore, if he should now submit to that trial, and almighty God not please to shew a further and a present miracle, his religion would suffer prejudice there for ever after; and therefore he refused.

It should seem that the Jesuits there do exceedingly extol the Virgin Mary; which I have

have gathered from poor people there, natives of that country, who have often asked alms of me, when I stirred abroad amongst them; and whereas one hath desired me to give him some relief for Christ's sake; there are many who have begged it for the Virgin Mary's sake.

Well known it is, that the Jesuits there, who like the Pharisees, Mat. xxiii. 25. that would go by sea and land to make a proselyte, have sent into Christendom many large reports of their conversions of Infidels in East-India; but all these boastings are but reports; the truth is, that they have there spilt the precious water of baptism upon some few faces, working upon the necessity of some poor men, who for want of means, which they give them, are contented to wear crucifixes; but for want of knowledge in the doctrine of Christianity are only in name Christians: So that the Jesuits congregations there, are very thin, consisting of some Italians, which the Mogul entertains, by great pay given them, to cut his diamonds and other rich stones; and of other European strangers which come thither, and some few others of the natives before mentioned. So that in one word I shall speak this more of the Jesuits in East-India, that they have the *templum*, but not *ecclesiam*.

When I lived in those parts, it was my earnest desire and daily prayer, to have put my weak hands unto that most acceptable, but
hard

hard labour of washing Moors, that the name of Jesus Christ might have been there enlarged, if God had pleased to honour me so far, by my endeavours. But there are three main and apparent obstacles, besides those which do not appear, that hinder the settlement and growth of Christianity in those parts: First, the liberty of the Mahometan religion given the people there in case of marriage; secondly, the most debauch'd lives of many coming thither, or living amongst them, who profess themselves Christians, *per quorum latera patitur evangelium*, by whom the gospel of Jesus Christ is scandalized, and exceedingly suffers; and lastly, the hearts of that people are so confirmed and harden'd in their own evil old ways, their ears so sealed up, their eyes so blinded with unbelief and darkness, that only he who hath the key of David, that shuts when no man can open, and opens when no man can shut, can open to them the door of life.

I have some things more, by way of inference, to add unto this relation, which contains matter, as it appears to me.



T H E
C O R O L L A R I E,
A N D
C O N C L U S I O N.

S E C T I O N X X X I.

*Of serious and heedful, but sad Considerations;
which shall be my Corollarie, and Conclusion.*

DIVERS particulars have been already observed in this relation, and I should have taken notice of many more, but that my desire was rather to feed and refresh, than to cram and cloy my reader.

But that I may not so do, while I am professing the contrary; for the inferences already put, or those yet to be inserted, which either necessarily or obliquely depend on my story, or those which are remote from it; I shall not at all despair of my reader's pardon, notwithstanding my length, if he shall seriously

ously peruse, and carefully improve what he finds here written.

The principal end whereof, was to make this nation ashamed by many carriages of the Heathens, as the Jews were provoked to jealousy by them that were not a people, Deut. xxxii. 21. And as God instructs man by the ox, ass, stork, turtle, crane, swallow, and by the little ant, or pismire, creatures which are only sensible, so much more may they be minded of, and learn the practice of some duties, from men, people though strange and remote, yet endued with reason.

It cannot be denied, but that there is a special use to be made in a clear sight or interview of nations, persons, and things; yet he is the best observer, who strictly and impartially so looks about him, that he may see through himself: that as the beams of the sun put forth their virtue, and do good by their reflection; so in this case, the only way for a man to receive good is by reflecting things upon himself.

Therefore it was a very good precept, which Plato sometimes gave unto his scholars, when they took notice of any thing bad, or of an evil report which they beheld in others, for every one of them presently to ask himself this question, *num ego feci tale?* have not I done the like? A Christian must put the question further, in asking his own heart, may not I do the like? for there is nothing so bad acted by

by one, but another left to himself may commit the same, so long as the seed and spawn of every sin, the rankness of corruption by reason of the pravity of man's nature, is lodged in every soul.

When the prophet Elisha, with tears running down his cheeks, told Hazael that he should be King, and being so, what mischief he should do to Israel, as that he should set their strong holds on fire, slay their young men with the sword, dash their children, and rip up the women with child; Hazael replies, but what? *num quid servus tuus canis?* am I thy servant a dog, that I should do this great thing? 2 King. viii. 3. As if he had said, can I be so forsaken of humanity, as to do such monstrous and prodigious things as these? yet he lived to do them; and so have others, to act such things as they would long before have heard with abhorrency, if they had been told them; doing things in the present, which future times would not believe could ever be done. And we shall have cause by far less to wonder at this, if we consider, that the very best in the whole cluster of mankind, left to themselves, without curb or rein to keep them in order, may become as base, as bad, as the worst upon earth, as the most wretched in Hell.

Yet to see nature very much refined in many Heathens, and to observe it again to lie so mixt amongst all its lees and dregs, in as many,
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if not in thousands more, of those who profess themselves Christians, is a thought which cannot pass by those who love and pray for the increase of Christ's kingdom, without much sorrow and sadness to attend upon it.

The consideration whereof (as of many other things, wherein the due and deserved commendations, even of those very Heathens, reflects shame upon us) enforceth me, lest I should be like those bottles in Job xxxiv. that were ready to burst for want of vent; enforceth me, I say, having my pen in my hand, to expatiate, and to let out my thoughts much further, I confess, than the rules and bounds proper to be observed in an historical narration can well bear: Yet however, I shall take liberty in this my last section, to enquire into some causes and reasons, why those Heathens, compared with us, but a wilderness, should be so fruitful in many moral good performances, and we, compared with them a garden enclosed, should be so barren and fruitless. And while I shall thus enlarge myself, I would not be looked upon as one altogether out of my way, though I be here found more at home than abroad, more in England than India.

This narrative, in some foregoing passages, hath taken notice of some Mahometan precepts, as of others delivered by those Heathens, to be as rules for their followers to walk by.

Now for the doctrine of Christianity, which we profess, it is that which teacheth a man to
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look for true and eternal happiness by Christ alone, there being no other name under Heaven given amongst men, whereby they may be saved, Acts iv. 12. No way under Heaven, but only by and through Christ Jesus, and by him alone. And therefore we must not look after another new way, as for a new Christ, a new passion, a new resurrection, or the like. And here reader, let us sit down a little, and suffer our thoughts to be taken up with that, I called before matter of serious, and sad, ay, and of admirable consideration.

They who have curiously surveyed the world, and the several nations which inhabit it, have divided the inhabitants thereof into thirty parts, whereof nineteen are Heathens, six are Mahometans, and five are Christians; by which account (and I conceive that there is a good proportion in it) if all the people which possess the whole face of the earth were numbered, there would be but one in six, so much as to bear the name of a Christian. And to make up this number, we must take in all Christ's retainers throughout the world, who do but bear his name, as well as those which be his household servants.

As all those poor superstitious blind Abissins, in Ethiopia, as also all those which inhabit Georgia, and the two Armenia's, under the tyranny of the Turk, and the King of Persia, (of whom something before in my first section) now, with some of those poor

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souls

souls I have conferred, and could never hear any thing from them unto any purpose, only they would tell me, they were Christians, but why they were so, I perswade myself that they could not render any thing like a good reason, their whole Christianity, I fear, almost all of it, lodged (as before) in their very name.

To these we must add the Russians, and the Muscovites, who are most sottishly ignorant; for one of their churchmen being asked how many Evangelists there were, answered, that he did not well know, but he thought four; and when others have been asked such obvious and easy questions, that a very child might make answer to, they would reply, that they could not give an answer to it themselves; but God and their great Duke knew all things. Now as they are a most ignorant, so are they a most treacherous, prophane, filthy, and an idolatrous people.

But further, all those beside that bear the names of Christians in the world, as the Jacobites and the Maronites, inhabiting Palestina, the Greek and Romish church, with all others bearing that name, must be added, to make up that number before spoken of.

And now to come unto the reformed churches, (or rather unto those which call themselves so) how few amongst them are Christians indeed, who are so in name; when we may run through many congregations, as the
Prophet

Prophet Jeremy was commanded to run through Jerusalem, Jer. 5. 2. and not find a man a Christian in earnest and indeed, as well as in name so.

I confess that it is nothing, or at least no hard matter, for a man professing Christianity, to set religion, to play devotion, to appear excellent upon the stage, as the Pharisees did, to be all for shew, nothing for substance, to affect the praise of men, as the Pharisees did, and to get the praise of men; and this is all the hypocrites can look for. And I know that the worst of men may sometimes be in good moods; but as good thoughts are long before they come into bad hearts, so they continue not long, making but a thoroughfare in them, being like a post that passeth by.

Bless me, even me, my father, was wicked Esau's request. No man would ever be miserable, if it were enough for him barely to desire happiness. In 1 K. xxi. you may see Ahab upon his knees, but all that he shewed, was but the vizard of sorrow, not the face; or if the face, not the heart; or if the sorrow of the heart, not the repentance; a sorrow for the judgment, not a repentance for the sin. The very Devils howl to be tormented, and grief is not a sign of grace. In Hos. vii. 14. mention is made of some that howl upon their beds, when they do not seek God in their hearts; and experience tells us, that the hardest flint and marble will sometimes

seem to drop, it being easy to appear good, but hard to be so.

Copia rara bonorum, they who are good indeed, are rare creatures, all good and sound Christians considered together, in respect of those which are not so, being like whales in the vast ocean, *apparent rari nantes*, which are seen rarely, not as other fishes, but here and there, no where to be seen in companies; or like the shaking of the olive tree, when the fruit is gathered; or like the gleanings of grapes when the vintage is done, Isa. 24. 13. Called by one or two out of a city or tribe, Jer. iii. 4.

Now if we put all this together; as first, that there is no way, no means to attain salvation, but only in and through Christ Jesus; secondly, that there be very few in the world which do, in respect of those which do not, so much as bear the name of Christians; thirdly, amongst those which bear this name, very few there are (as to men it appears) which shall have benefit by Christ, compared with those that shall not, what shall we say to this? even that which the Prophet doth in another case, Es. 5. 14. that Hell hath enlarged itself, and opened its mouth above measure.

Alas poor Indians! who live in darkness, and in the shadow of death, and cannot help it; but woe be to Christians, who have light to walk by, and will not improve it; for the first of these, they cannot know; for the second,

cond, they care not to know, they will not know, which makes them more inexcusable, because there is no plea for the wilful.

Many Indians, poor souls! walk in that little light they have, unrepoveably, in respect to moralities, and doubtles, if they knew better, would do better (though I am persuaded, — that God will never honour Jesuits so far, as to convert them unto Christianity, notwithstanding their great brags of their many converts there); but what can be said in excuse of those who profess themselves Christians, and live amongst so many clear visions; yet even there, do so shut up their eyes against their light, as that they know nothing in religion, as they ought to know it.

Therefore, if we leave those Indians awhile, and come home unto ourselves, who are collectively and together called all Christians, we shall find that the succession of times here amongst us, have very much resembled that image, which Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream, Dan. ii. whose head was gold, stomach silver, belly brasse, thighs iron, but the feet were of clay, for the lower we descend the worse we are; for it may be truly observed, that in former times, in which there was by far less knowledge, there was by much more honesty, more honesty in men's dealings with men; and in order then to their duties due to almighty God, what zeal, care, and constancy, did our forefathers shew, while

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they

they snatched at the bread of the word, even from the midst of flames, and did seek after it with all their endeavour, while they were surrounded with many perils for so doing. Oh how happy would those esteem themselves to be, if they could but purchase with much price and more hazard, any part or parcel of the New Testament, in that language they could understand it; how then would they have solaced themselves with that sweet companion. And if then they were put into prison for glorifying God, in the self same prison they glorified him more, and were willing to run as fast to martyrdom, as people in these days to pleasure, or covetousness; were as prodigal of their lives in the service of God, as others are of their money now in the service of their lusts, suffering then more willingly for Christ Jesus, than most are now to speak of him, or for him. In these times how many miles would people have gone to have heard that word of God, which they now turn their backs upon, the plenty of ordinances having made many poor, and long enjoyment of the word made them wanton with it, weary of it, and ready to loath it, as the Israelites did their manna, calling it out of contempt, this manna, Numb. xi.

Hence, as pamper'd bellies, and wanton palates, come to feasts and banquets, where nothing can please but some odd sauce, or some new invention; so, very many come to sermons,

mons, and to the reading of good books, and will be satisfied with nothing but the vanity and froth of wit, tho' indeed it can give no satisfaction, being like wind in the stomach, which fills, but feeds not; or they come to hearing of the word, as if, (like Malchus the high priest's servant) they had their right ears struck off; for they hear not with judgment, but sinisterly, and often with prejudice, to the person speaking, and to the doctrine delivered, be it never so excellent, and he that delivers it of much integrity and desert. Such hearers as these, regard not what is solid, substantial, and of most use to inform the understanding, and to stir up the affections; but that which is delightful, and pleasant to feed the fancy with oily passages, which like the riddle of the sun, goes through the wood, and through the wood, and breaks never a stick; so these, through the head, and through the head, and stay not. Now those who thus hear, are as easily brought to admire every thing they understand not, as to slight and scorn those plain and wholesome, and profitable truths, which are made easy to their understanding. And from this strange lightness and vanity of their minds, they grow into a neglect of the holy scriptures, those fountains of living water, as of other excellent treatises, which clear and explain them, to wade in kennels or filthy puddles; and (as one well observes) commit idolatry, as it were, with idle or fabulous,

lous, or else other dangerous books; like Politician, who prefer'd the odes of Pindarus, before the psalms of David; when, (if he could have understood so much) he might have found more weight and strength, and wisdom, and eloquence, in the holy scriptures, than in all the writings of the world beside.

And certainly, that very great neglect of the holy scriptures hath been the parent, which hath brought forth so much Atheism amongst us; when people, instead of the writings of Moses, and the Prophets, and the Evangelists, and other parts of that most sacred book, which was wont to lie in their windows, as their best ornament, and to sit in their uppermost rooms, as their best guest in their houses, there are many romances, and other vain and frivolous stories, which take up their places, much vitiating and corrupting the minds of many readers; who rather than they should want books, that might afford matter to please and feed their wanton humours, have the Turkish Alcoran taught to speak English.

Now from that little love and liking that men have and bear to the truth, there have proceeded many endeavours of late to grub and root up the very foundations of religion, by turning all fundamentals (which should be received, not controverted) into questions and disputes, as it was in the time of the schoolmen, about three hundred years last past, that by so doing had almost disputed all religion

religion out of the church then ; that being a true maxim, which these times have not well considered of, *Puritus disputandi, Religionis scabies*, that the itch of disputing breeds an ulcer or scab in religion.

Pruritus

It was never worse in Israel, than when every one did that which was right in his own eyes, and this we may take notice of in the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 21st chapters of Judges. And how ill it hath been in this church wherein we live, since the reins of discipline have been slackened, or broken, he that hath eyes to see may sadly behold ; and he who hath an heart, which holds any pity in it, may bitterly lament.

I have observed that there is very much order to be taken notice of in that remote people, for the better carrying on of things amongst themselves ; and they find much outward peace and quiet in it, though it be but a disorderly order. But for that order and discipline, which is managed and carried on by safe and good rules, they are so consistent to the well being of a church or state, as that they cannot be separated or severed without much damage and detriment unto both ; order and government in a state, that may give rules to, and require obedience from human societies. So order and discipline in the church, which may direct, uphold, encourage, and defend people in the profession of religion ; because anarchy and confusion must needs

needs stretch, crack, and break those bands asunder, which hold men firmly together in a state; and like a moth by degrees eats up the life, the very soul of religion in the church.

In the 16th chapter of Numbers, Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, with others their accomplices and adherents (all men of levelling spirits, and consequently enemies to order and government) rose up and gathered themselves together against Moses and Aaron, and said unto them, you take too much upon you, seeing all the congregation is holy, every one of them; and probably upon this false ground thought that they were as good, and therefore it was fit that they should be as great as Moses: Superiority is one of the chiefest marks that envy shoots at, and that made these now rise up against their governors, and they tell them that all the congregation was holy; it had been very well if they had been so, for then these of them would not have had so misbehaved themselves as they did. But every word they said was false, for what holiness could there be in mutiny, disobedience, rebellion, and irreligion? if these could make them holy, nothing could make them impure. But why did not those rebels lift up their weapons against Moses, as well as their voices? the reason was, because they could not, for God hath put such impressions of majesty upon the face of lawful authority, that wickedness

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is much confounded, even at the sight thereof. But what doth Moses now? They rose up against him, and he falls down before God, and petitions against them. There is nothing that can be so mischievous to the wicked, as the imprecations of the righteous: "Him that escapeth the sword of Jchu, shall Elisha slay, not by weapons, but by prayers; which prayers of God's people can reach ungodly men, where no sword can touch them. Now if it be sad for any one to be so far out of the reach of prayer, as not to have the prayers of God's people put up for them, it is by much more grievous, to have the petitions of those that can so much prevail with God, sent up against them. But I return to that I spoke to before.

He that takes notice of the carriage of those primitive Christians mentioned in the three first chapters of the Acts, shall ever and anon find one accord and one assent to be specified in them, to be spoken of them; how that they were all of one mind, as if they had been all but one man. But in these times wherein we live, the Devil hath cast such a ball of contention, even amongst people professing religion; that as in the 11th of Genesis, division of tongues hindered the building then; so division of hearts very much hinders the building up of Christianity now.

Come to a Jew, and you shall find how that the principal thing which scatters him, and makes

makes him to startle from the gospel, is the dissension of those who profess it, which he interprets to proceed from the lack of unity of truth in the foundation thereof.

And what said the Papists long since, (and it had been well if there had been no truth in it) that what one preaches in the morning, another contradicts after dinner. And what peace, what accord in that house (say they) where the husband is a Calvinist, the wife a Lutheran, or one for Martin, the other for Luther, the servant an Oecolampadian, &c. These latter times have fitted us with more several names of distinction, and enough for a very numerous family, where so many people of so many minds do sometimes meet.

They say of bees, that stir and strife among them is a sign that their King is about to leave them, to remove out of the hive and be gone. Strife and division in religion, is a sad presage, that either God hath, or else is about to leave a people. It is a principle in nature, that *vis unita fortior*, strength united receives more strength; and experience shews, that planks and timber well joined together make a ship, but disjoined, they cause shipwreck; so connexion of stones and other materials make a house, but dissipation of them a ruin; so agreement of Christians builds up the church, dissension amongst them, pulls it down.

To him that demanded why Sparta had no walls, the King thereof shewed citizens well arm'd,

am'd, and unanimous; unanimity, in the profession of the truth of religion, would make it impregnable.

Division, and subdivision, are terms that have their use in arithmetick, but they are dangerous to be heard of, in religion. This way therefore, and that judgment, and the other opinion or persuasion, can never repair, but make more breaches still in the church of Christ, and I fear that much less than half an age will make the church in this nation most sadly to feel and to rue the truth hereof; for as God is one, so is his will one, and his way one, and oh! how happy were it for Christians, if they could get into, and keep in that way. How many exhortations have we in the sacred book to peace and unity; live in peace, and the God of peace shall be with you. How are they reprov'd in scripture that walk disorderly, or are unruly; both metaphors taken from soldiers, that have their several stations assign'd them, and if they break their ranks it is very dangerous.

Let the same mind be in you, which was also in the Lord Jesus, saith the Apostle; not the like, but the same; not another, but the same. And the same Apostle sets a mark upon those which cause divisions; and if they shall be called the children of God who are makers of peace, they must look out for another name who are the breakers and disturbers thereof in this church, wherein we live, where the con-
nivance

strange at some, whose opinions were thought less dangerous, hath been unhappily made *genus generalissimum*, from whence all the errors that have been heard of lately in this nation have taken their rise; for while liberty was given to some, it was taken by others, and from hence it is come to pass, that all those ancient heresies recorded by Irenaeus and Epiphanius, and others, (which we hoped had been long since buried in forgetfulness) have in these late times of liberty, (I say) been raked up out of their corruption, revived, and with new faces and glosses put upon them, presented to this nation in printed books, and have been preached by some, and applauded by others, and defended by more, to the endangering of the very life and soul of religion, and the utter overthrow of true godliness here amongst us.

It was well resolved, by good and reverend Calvin, *ne decem quidem maria, &c.* that it would not grieve him to sail over ten seas, about a uniform draught in the profession of religion.

Other particular men have wished (and I believe most heartily) that all these importunate, and unprofitable differences about uniformity in the profession of religion, which so much disturb the peace of the church of Christ, were buried in their ashes.

Oh how many are led away with perverse disputings! a people of uneven, unquiet, unpeaceable, and untractable spirits, quite fallen
off

off from their first principles, revolted and gone, so wedded to their own opinion, as that there is no reasoning with them; for whatsoever can be said to the contrary, they will be sure to hold their conclusions, they being wiser in their own conceits than seven men that can render a reason; and that great opinion they have of their own wisdom, that love and liking they have to their own false way, makes them incapable either of counsel, or cure; they peremptorily refusing to return into the way of truth.

Many of these have abundance of error, (which proceeds from their own pride and ignorance) settled in their hearts as Solomon saith, Pr. xxii. 15. "a child hath folly bound up in his heart"; and in regard that all reasonings and disputings in this case with them will do no good, (for we leave them still where we first found them) it were very well for such, and much better for the church of God in this nation, if the rod of discipline and correction were long enough, and smart enough to drive it thence.

Yet the greater part of these pretend conscience for what they do, when indeed (as before) it is the pride of their hearts, the ignorance and darknets of their minds, together with the perverseness of their wills, which carries them into, and keeps them in error.

For the conscience and will, they are both lodged together in the same soul, and therefore

fore may be easily mistaken, or taken one for the other, as they have often been, and still are by people of this nation, wherein we live; whence it comes to pass by the righteous judgment of almighty God, that very many here amongst us, in these latter times, have been given up, (their sin being part of their punishment) to believe, and to be led away with lies, because they would not entertain the truth./

Now, whereas the people in general of those remote parts, honour and reverence a churchman, and for that very reason, because he is so; these before named, (men of corrupt minds) cannot endure us who are the called and allowed ministers and publishers of the truth of God, and merely for our office sake, bestowing on us all terms of obloquy and scorn, they can possibly invent, esteeming us as that blessed Apostle St. Paul; and other good men of his time, were accounted by some ~~reprobates~~ 1 Cor. iv. 13. which properly signifieth, filth or dirt scraped off mens shoes; we are made (saith the Apostle) as the filth of the world, and are the off-scouring of all things unto this day, as if we were the very offal, or filth of mankind, unworthy so much as to have being upon the face of the earth.

And whereas again, the Mahometans and Heathens give their Priests not only honour, but comfortable maintenance, and without all grudging; there are very great numbers amongst

mongst us, being very much led away by principles of worldly mindedness and covetousness, cannot abide us for our maintenance sake; not considering, how that they who preach the gospel, must live by the gospel, and that by divine right, we have an honourable maintenance allowed unto us by almighty God, as it is most clear by many passages of the New Testament, as well as the Old. And by the laws of the land wherein we live, we have as great a civil right to what we may challenge from the people for our livelihood, as any that would deny it us, hath either to his bread, or shirt.

Yet this is contradicted by many, and the reason is, because they do, and will contradict it; we have cause therefore to bless God for good laws, to direct and lead some, as to constrain and bind others; for there is no hope in this case to work convictions upon many, such as the Psalmist calls the beasts of the people, who would defraud us if they could of all our just rights. For doubtless if we were left wholly to their courtesy, we might expect no more, probably not so much from them, as Micha gave his Levite, Judg. xvii. 10. ten shekels of silver by the year; and a little cloathing and victuals: Now those shekels were rated diversly, some at fifteen pence, others at twenty pence, and the highest rate of them was two shillings and six-pence the shekel; but which of these, Micha gave his

Chaplain, I cannot tell; neither can I say, what our people in this nation, left to themselves, would generally give their minister by a voluntary gift.

But doubtless it would go very hard with many, with most, who if they were left altogether unto their people's feeding, would speed little better than a young Welsh-man of the university of Oxford sometimes did, (and I am very certain that the relation is true) who, after he had gotten a lamb-skin upon his shoulders, being Batchelor of Arts, presently went into the country for preferments, (as he said) and what he found was but four pounds a year (as he told me) for reading prayers in a church, with liberty in the belfry to teach a few children, out of which he was to provide himself with food and cloathing, and all other necessaries. I meeting him about half a year after, he told me how he sped, and that it was but small, but small. I asked the poor man further, how he did make a shift to live? he told me, that he had been sick of an ague the greatest part of that time, could take but little food, and if it had not been so with him, his preferment would have starved him. And thus certainly would it be with many others, if they were left for their livelihood meerly to men's courtesies.

Who think the bread of the church sweet, and therefore would eat it up all from us, and leave us with their good will, no part thereof,
(and

(and haply they may find or imagine it sweet in their mouths, but in their stomachs it will prove hard of digestion, honey in the one, gravel in the other) we leave these to God the righteous judge, who complains that he is robb'd and wrong'd in the injury done to us, Mat. iii. 8. and will find a time to reckon with men for all these arrearsages; and therefore, if repentance and restitution in this case, when wrong hath been done, and after-reformation prevent it not, they will one day find enough mold in the grave, and enough fire in Hell.

The Athenians (as Valerius reports) though they were Heathens, yet when Phydias was to make for them the image of Minerva, (which Goddess, as they call her, was in very high esteem amongst them) and when that workman told them that he would make it for them, either in marble, or ivory; they heard him thus far; but when he further advised them to have it made in marble; because that would be cheapest, they presently commanded him silence, and put him out of doors.

And if Heathens could not endure to entertain the thoughts of cheapness, though but in the making of an idol; let them of this nation blush; and have their faces covered with shame, whosoever they be that love to serve God; (as they call it) but to be at as little cost in that service as possibly they can; as if they studied Jeroboam's politicks, whose po-

licy eat up his religion; who, after he had usurped his kingdom, did invent this taking snare to fasten the people unto him, in giving them some seeming immunity in the profession of religion, telling them that it was too much for them to go to Jerusalem to sacrifice, 1 K. xii. 28. (though they were commanded so to do by Almighty God) and therefore he set up Calves, one in Dan, and the other in Bethel, that they might stay at home, and serve God better cheap, with more ease, and (doubtless as they were persuaded) with no less safety.

Again, further for that people, they do so highly prize those books in which their laws are written, that they know not how sufficiently to esteem and value them, and therefore will not presume to touch them without much reverence. What shall I say, as to this, unto very-very many of this nation, and such as have long lived under the ministry of the word, but having profited nothing by it, know not how to put any valuation on it, and therefore esteem it a trouble, a burden, rather than a blessing or benefit, and consequently would be very well content (so they might be freed from all charge to the publishers thereof) if the whole book of God were served as that roll was, written by Baruch from the mouth of Jeremiah the Prophet, Jer. 36. cut all in pieces, and burnt in the fire.

Such as these, will never be persuaded to follow that most excellent counsel which Solomon

mon gives, Prov. xxiii. 23. "buy the truth, but sell it not." Buy it of God by prayer, buy it of books by reading, buy it of orthodox men by hearing, buy it of other good Christians by conferring; buy it over and over again, you cannot over-buy it; *Non Priamus tanti*.—There is nothing in the world to be weighed against it, to be compared with it. But sell it not for a world. Yet there are a great many dunghill men of the earth, who with Æsop's cock, prefer a barley-corn before the pearl, and therefore are most unwilling to part with a penny for that most rich commodity.

It is strange, further to consider, (as I observed before) and is very true, that Mahometans should never see their Alcoran, (though but a fardle of falsehoods and fooleries) or hear any part of it read, without a shew of great attention, affection, and reverence; and Heathens do so likewise at the hearing of their precepts; and all of them give honour and maintenance which is comfortable, and without grudging, unto those that be their teachers, (though they lead them quite out of the way) and men dare to usurp the names of Christians, and yet would be content, (I would not be uncharitable in this sad assertion) would be content (I say) so they might be at no charge for hearing the truths of God, if there were no book of God at all extant, no gospel, no minister to declare and publish it.

But the time will one day come, when peo-

ple (if ever they return to a right knowledge of themselves) who have manifested so much thrift in the profession of religion, shall rue and repent the time that ever they did so; when they may desire to see one day more of the son of man, one day more of the gospels, which they so slighted before, but all in vain: When distress and anguish cometh upon them, then shall they call upon God, but he will not hear them, &c. the reason follows, because they hated knowledge, Prov. i. 27, 28, &c. because they hated and despised knowledge, as Esau was said to despise his birth-right, because he put no greater valuation on it.

— I confess, that if we, whose business it is to teach and direct others, do not in the first place labour to teach and instruct ourselves; if we be like the statue of Mercury, which pointed the way to others, while it stood still itself; or like watermen, that look forward, while they row and move backward; if we seduce or mislead our people, by error, or example; if we do not manifest love and mercy and pity to our congregations, but while we undertake the oversight of their souls, either silently or else in passion or discontent tell their persons that we care not for them; if we be not ready, according to our abilities, for to open our hands to relieve the poor, and having ability, our doors, to let in others, that they may know we do not desire to eat all our bread alone; if we open not our mouths, to pray for, and instruct all; if we desire

desire not to carry our people in our bosoms, as God commanded Moses, Numb. xi. 12. that those under our charge may be tender and near and dear unto our affections, and to this end use all winning carriages towards them, that may draw their affections unto us, and by loving us may be won to the love of him in whose stead we stand, and whose messages we deliver; if we observe not all gospel principles, to order us as well when we are out of, as when we are in our pulpits; if we study (as some did in days of persecution) to defend evil actions in evil times, and by depraved reason, or perverted scripture, could make any thing appear lawful that might please either ourselves or others; if we desire more of the serpent than the dove, and know better to flatter than to reprove; if we resolve (as some have done in all ages) to close unto that side on which the purse hangs, and as it was said of Joseph's brethren, (but in a different case) that when they opened their sacks mouths they saw their money; so if it may be said of us, *Sacco soluto apparet nummus*, that if the knot of our designs and endeavours be undone, money, advantage, worldly profit will appear, and so voluntarily hamper ourselves in those snares the world casts in our way to entrap us, which in a special manner we must warn others to take heed of; if we study wealth more than books, and appear to be *Bubulci potius quam pastores*, neat herds, husbandmen, horse-cour-

fers, rather than shepherds, and being basely and sordidly covetous, care for our fleeces more than our flocks; or if by being any other way negligent or scandalous, we forfeit that respect, honour, and love, we might challenge and receive from others, we have no cause at all to complain, if we find it not: But yet the high calling of a minister of the gospel deserves honour, even then, when the person dishonoureth it, above all others offending, deserves punishment. /

— On the contrary, if we the messengers of God labour in our whole course to walk in wisdom; as first, by shewing all diligence in our calling, that by God's blessing upon our endeavours we may do our work with joy, and not with grief; if we study to shew ourselves approved unto God, (whatever we appear to others) workmen that need not be ashamed, and so make a full proof of our ministry, by speaking and pressing truths in season, rightly dividing the word of God; not putting honey in the sacrifice when we should put salt, nor salt when we should put honey; but wisely temper and mix together law and gospel, mercy and judgment, as occasion is offered. /

— If we dare be good in bad, in the worst times, as those blessed martyrs and confessors (of whom the world was not worthy) in their generations were, some of them making their faith to shine clear through their flames; who
I say,

I say, durst be good, when others durst not be so, but out of cowardise, (though they call'd it prudence) did not speak out, speak home, speak all, but betray'd the cause of God, while they undertook to maintain it, and were ready to censure, judge, and condemn others for want of wisdom and discretion, who did but their duty herein, while they spoke by the pound and talent, words of weight, and neither knew, nor in this case feared the faces of men, but did boldly reprove any that durst boldly sin against God, by setting up a standard, in the name of the Lord, against the abominable pride, the bold prophaneness, the swinish drunkenness, the beastly filthiness, against the arm'd injustice, the crying oppressions, against the gross errors, the damnable heresies, the horrid blasphemies, as against all other provoking sins, that the envy of Satan could tempt unto, or the corrupt nature of man yield unto, committed in the times and places wherein they lived, crying loud against them, by lifting up their voices like trumpets, and if their cries could not pierce their deaf ears, that they might be left unto that cry at midnight, which will one day awaken sinners with a witness.

For as Jericho was overthrown with a noise, Josh. vi. so every carnal heart is like a Jericho shut up, it must be spoken loud unto, or else it will not down. The gentle spirit of Eli is not sufficient to amend children that are ungracious;

gracious ; nor mild and gentle proceedings, men that are so ; and therefore we must be bold, when sin grows impudent, and cannot blush.

A little more by the way ; where I would have my reader to believe, that I desire to retain and manifest as many bowels of mercy and pity towards others, as any can shew ; yet howsoever I do believe this to be a truth (and I am not alone in this judgment) that hereticks and dangerous schismaticks must be compelled to do their duties, if allurements will not serve. When people are and will be obstinate, they must not always be prayed and intreated ; he that hath a phrensy must be bound ; and he that hath a lethargy must be prickt up ; a member that is rotten must be cut off, lest it endanger the whole body ; he that hath strengthened himself in heresy or schism, must violently be pull'd from it ; for some must be pulled out of the fire, and saved by fear, discipline, correction, and these, they whose sins proceed from wilfulness ; others must find compassion, whose failings take their rise merely from weakness. Some things must be commanded as well as taught ; these things — command and teach, 1 Tim. iv. 11. Command, *καταγγελλειν*, which word is used Act. 5. 40. and 'tis a metaphor taken from a Judge giving a charge unto others to do what he commands, or not to do it, at their peril. /

— But secondly, if in our whole course we manifest zeal for God, zeal joined with knowledge,

ledge, and carried on with discretion; if we propose the honour of God as our principal aim and end, and make love, charity, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, meekness, modesty, and temperance to shine in our lives, that it may be said of us in particular, *non tantum prædicat sed vivit*, that we live as well as preach; for then do we preach the truths of God as we should, when we endeavour to live up unto those duties ourselves, which in our exhortations, we commend to others.

Briefly, if we live, though not without failings, yet without scandal, in not giving any just cause of offence unto others, (whatsoever they may say or think of us) and thus we must labour to live (and we deserve to suffer without pity if we do not so) that we may be *inculpabiles*, though not *inculpati*, not meriting the least blame, though we must look to be blamed by some, who will not pass a right judgment of us, how good soever our deservings are; the way to Heaven being as well through evil, as good report; and hence it comes to pass, that many times while we are most faithful, we are most foully used, by scorns and contumelies put upon us, which we must gather up, and keep together, as so many jewels hereafter to adorn our crowns; in the mean time, be very well content to be the drunkards songs, rather than their companions; to suffer any wrongs from others, rather than do the least unto any; to carry cheerfully

fully the reproaches of wicked men to Heaven, rather than their applauses to Hell. In a word, if we be ἀμεμπτοι, blameless, though not sinless, (for so we cannot be while our bodies are cloathed with flesh) but if we walk by rule, evenly, carefully, circumspectly, we are most injuriously dealt withal, if we be deny'd any of those respects and encouragements which are due unto us.

— And further, if there be no way to attain salvation, but only in and through the merits of Jesus Christ, all those who presume to name the name, of the Lord Jesus, should behold much beauty in the face of them which proclaim these glad tidings; especially if they consider what fair characters are put upon them by almighty God, both in the Old and New Testament.

— In the Old Testament, called the strength of a kingdom, and the excellency of their strength; the chariots of Israel, and the horsemen thereof; 2 K. xiii. 14. (see Ezek. xxiv. 21) so it is said of the godly Levites, the ministers of that time, that they strengthened the kingdom of Judah, and made Rheoboam strong, 2 Chron. xi. 17. and so they do all places besides, wheresoever they are.

— In the New Testament they are called ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God, 1 Cor. iv. 1. Ambassadors for Christ, 2 Cor. 5. 20. &c. and God hath promised to be with his faithful ministers and messengers

fengers alway, unto the end of the world, Mat. xxviii. 20. to be with them in refpect of themfelves by his prefence and affiftance, and to be with them either in mercy or judgment, in refpect of others which do, or do not entertain their messages, and he that heareth you heareth me, and he that defpifeth you; defpifeth me, faith Chrift, Luke x. 16.

— All which promifes, well confidered, and duly regarded, might remove far from us many caufes of juft complaining which now we have, and may make us take up the complaints of one of the antients, and fay, *ad quæ tempora refervati fumus*, and to repeat it over and over again; Oh to what times are we referved; in what days do we live.

For that people in Eaft-India, two principal caufes of their more accurate walking, compared with others, may be thefe; firft, becaufe they keep clofe unto thofe principles (moft of them founded on the book of nature) which are given them in charge to walk by; and fecondly, becaufe the current of Juftice runs very quick in thofe parts, as I obferved before.

But for us of this nation, I need not enquire into the caufes and reafons of the moft fearful mifcarriages, and of the many-many evils committed amongst us, they lie fo open unto every knowing and obferving man's underftanding, and therefore they want no great difcovery; only I fhall take liberty to repeat
some

some of them which are first more general, and then those, which are more special, and particular.

And first, the general and principal cause of all the evil in this, and consequently of every nation under Heaven, hath its original from that mass of corruption, that poisoned fountain, which hath infected the whole world, or from that leaven which hath sowerd the whole lumps of mankind; *Ne mali sunt times, Nascuntur*; every one is born bad, as well as becomes so; sin sticking more close to man's nature, than his flesh; and that original guilt, like a fretting leprosy, hath eaten into the manners of all, corrupting the whole man, in all the parts of his body, and in all the faculties of his soul.

The persons of our first parents defiled their nature; but ever since, the nature of every one defiles his person. Whence the hearts of all are evil from their youth, estranged from the womb, and go astray as soon as they are born:

Now secondly, for those causes, which are more special and particular of the increase and growth of wickedness in this nation, they proceed much from the want of restraint upon people, who are so naturally apt to wander out of the way, that dare take any unfit and unlawful liberty they please to take.

— An eye and a sword, make a fit emblem to express magistracy; an eye to observe and watch,

watch, and a sword to chastise some, and to support and defend others. But when this eye is dim, or sleepy, then justice must needs faintly draw her breath; when canker and rust grows upon the sword of authority, for want of use, and thence cries out against him who should otherwise manage it, for bearing the sword in vain, (as canker and rust doth from the covetous man's silver and gold, Ja. 5. 3. and is a witness against him) it is a principal cause why the qualities and dispositions of so many people amongst us, (who cannot go without a rein) are so invaded and vitiated, nay quite overthrown.

It is a good and a true saying, *Qui non vetat peccare cum possit, jubet*; those which are in power contract the guilt of all those sins upon themselves, which they might restrain in others, but do not. The great sin of Eli, (otherwise a good man) for which he paid dear, because when his sons made themselves vile, he restrained them not, 1 Sam. iii. 13. all which the poor indulgent father there saith unto his lewd sons, was, why do ye such things? for I hear of your evil doings by all the people; nay, my sons, for it is no good report that I hear. When any parties offending deserve, if not death, yet some severe smart, it is not enough to chide them, because there must be some proportion 'twixt the punishment and the offence. To give a light check for a great offence, or to award the

the stocks for theft, or the whip for murder, is to patronise offenders, rather than to punish them.

And further, the want of discipline in the church, since the hedge hath been trampled down, and kept so low about it, hath apparently been the most principal cause of the ignorance, error, heresy, and atheism, which hath corrupted so many minds amongst us.

Then, thirdly, the very shameful neglect of other public persons in their several places, as of masters in their families, of parents towards their children, and lastly, of ministers, in relation to their flocks, have been all of them, and are most sadly mischievous in this nation.

— I begin with the last named, ministers of the word, many of which are too-too careless of their charges, in taking no considerable pains for what they deliver unto their people; but on the contrary, by hasty and undigested meditations, offer unto God that which cost them nothing; or that preach as most hear, resting merely in the thing done.

— And further, there are others, much to be blamed likewise, in that they do not study the people; that so they might apply themselves unto them in all ways of instruction, reproof, or comfort. In the last chapter of St. John's gospel, our blessed Saviour speaks thus to Peter thrice, Simon Peter, lovest thou me? lovest thou me? lovest thou me? as if he had said,

said, do'st thou love me? do'st thou love me?
and do'st thou love me indeed? what then?
shew thy love to me in this, feed my lambs,
feed my sheep; I have bestowed my dearest
blood upon them, do thou bestow thy best
pains.

— A wise and faithful minister of the gospel
must consider that he hath lambs in his flock;
as well as sheep, and therefore must fit his
discourse unto all the several capacities of his
hearers, providing, as strong meat, for well-
grown Christians, as milk for lambs and babes;
and he must deal with these babes, who are
but newly enter'd into the school of Christ, as
parents do with their little children, when
they begin to spell or read, encourage and
praise them, though what they do be not so
praise-worthy; so if ye see any the least
spark of good in them, to blow it up, and
not rigidly shut the door of hope against those,
when God keeps it open; nor despise small,
the smallest things, in whom the image of
God at all appears.

— All congregations, then consisting of some
very low and weak, as of others of more high
and quicker capacities, those who have the
oversight of them must take special notice of
this in applying themselves unto their several
understandings accordingly; which if so, I
think they do very ill, who do very much, if
not altogether neglect the reading of the holy
scriptures in their congregations, as if that

were not an ordinance of God. And they are much to be blamed likewise who endeavour to feed their people with sauce, rather than food, as Ephraim fed on wind; or as that Roman Emperor, who seemed to entertain his guests with flesh, fowls, and fishes of divers kinds, the figures of all which were most exactly counterfeited in thin silver plate, with paint put upon it, and presented before them, which they might touch and admire, but they could not taste, and much less carry away: so these, amuse, trouble, and perplex many of the people whom they undertake to feed, with abstruse passages, or uncouth expressions, with high speculations, or with airy notions, or with metaphysical terms, clouding and obscuring many truths, while their business is, to explain them; for by new and unfit dresses put upon them, they sometimes make truths which are easy in themselves, more hard to be understood; and because they themselves may happily understand their own meanings, conceive that their hearers must do so likewise, as if they were all in the upper form of Christianity, and if they were, would be no more able to understand some passages preached and printed, (though some women say that they understand them very well) than the others were, to eat of that Emperor's dishes.

— And as these high exalted notions are very useless (to say no more) in our preachings, because so few can reach them: so a too-too
much

much affected plainness in them, which many times are presented to hearers in such unseemly, and unpleasing, if not absurd expressions, (though I know that there is a learned plainness, as well as a plain ignorance) as in probability will never give that information to the understanding, nor that motion and quickening to the affections, as may work upon both, or either. In all labour, there is profit, saith Solomon, Pr. xiv. 23. which as it is true in earthly, so in spiritual things, where the crown is reserved for the diligent. And to what purpose hath the spirit and wisdom of God strewed the holy scriptures over with the choicest flowers and figures of rhetorick, &c. with many full but short sentences, if they were altogether useles in our preachings; in which we are commanded to use all arguments we can possibly invent, to persuade men to take Christ and salvation; and when these persuasions come from our hearts, as well as our heads, the greater pains we then take, and the more our discourses are furnished and set off with scripture elegancies, the more successful and prevailing we may hope they will prove.

They therefore (as I humbly conceive) judge very rashly, and very much amiss, who in dispensing the word, conclude nothing to be so spiritual, as that which is low and flat, favouring of very little, or no pains, but is very idly, if not ignorantly performed.

And therefore, as good parts of learning, but above all, much piety, so there is great wis-

dom and prudence most requisite to be found in every faithful minister of the gospel, for the better carrying on of his ministerial office, the want of which is, without doubt, a chief reason why we labour so much in vain, and do no more good in our places./

— Which good he that desires to do, must be *carbo & lampas*, first burning in himself, and then shining unto others. And further, he must go in and out before his people, not only in priority of place, but also in precedency of virtue and godliness; encouraging his people in all ways of holiness, not only by precept, but example likewise./ And as it is written of Julius Cæsar, that he was wont to be not in the rear, but head of his troops, and there spake to his soldiers, *non ite, sed eamus*, not go ye, but let us go: so must Ministers of the gospel speak unto those in their several charges, and lead them so, that they may safely and boldly follow them.

— And then, for the comfort of all those, who have been wise and faithful in this their great trust, and have done the utmost of their endeavours to do much good thereby; although they have not gained a fair seal to their ministry, by converting many souls to God, they shall be sure of a full discharge, who have been thus faithful, whatsoever their success hath been; that when their careless and unprofitable hearers, that he bound over unto the judgment seat of Christ, with this sad testimony

testimony against them, *Noluerunt incantari*, this or that people would not be admonished, they shall receive a *Quietus est*, from that great and high tribunal, which shall speak thus, "well done, good and faithful servant."

A second great cause of the many growing evils amongst us, proceeds very much from the great neglect and remissness of masters, or governors of families, who do not take care as they might, as they ought, to keep in order those under their roofs, and to nurture them up in the fear of the Lord: For examples herein, have much power in them to sway either to good or evil; and the greater the example is, the greater hope if it be good, but if evil the greater danger; for greatness hath ever a train to follow it, either in good or evil. Abraham, Joshua, and David, were great examples of good herein, as he that turns to their stories may clearly see.

But, on the other side, Jeroboam is seldom mentioned in the writers of Israel, but he draws a tail after him like a blazing star, Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who did not only sin himself, but made Israel to sin, 1 K. xiv. 16. by whose high precedency, but evil example, he did exceeding much mischief, so defiling his throne, that if ye look forward upon all the Kings of Israel, his successors, you shall not find amongst them all one good man, *omnes ad unum*, from Jeroboam the first, to Hoshea the last King of Israel, they were

all nought. Now they who were so bad in the government of a kingdom, without doubt could not be good in the well ordering of a family.

And hence let all know, that as they may do much good, and consequently reap much comfort, in the true managing of their families; so, on the contrary, they shall be sure one day to suffer, and that heavily, for the disorder of them, when they shall be called to a strict account, not only for their own sins, but for the sins of others under their charge, who by their precedency and example they have drawn into, or else by their connivance suffered in wickedness.

A third, (and that shall be the last cause I will name, of so much increase of wickedness in this nation, and because it is so destructive and mischievous, I shall speak more largely to it) is the great carelessness of parents in their not looking to their children in their first institution and breeding; for without all doubt, the very sad miscarriages of all sorts of children, of higher and meaner extraction or descent, proceed very much from their first ordering; when many parents quite undo their children, *stulto & improbo amore*, by reason of their foolish indulgence, the great sin of Eli, (before spoken of) who brought up his sons to bring down his house; who, for giving them their way too much, was said to honour his sons, more than God. So David, after him,

him, was observed over much to indulge his son Absalom, when he was young; and to requite him for this ill breeding, Absalom lives heavily to vex his father David, when his father was old.

The children of many parents, (especially of great ones) bred when they are young, at home or abroad, are very often left too much unto their own will, to learn, or else to do almost what themselves please; when getting few, or no grounds of learning, in their youth, or non-age, suddenly after many of them travel, and then wanting for the most part good guides for their youth, they being abroad first see nought, and then be nought, and after all this, without special mercy, they die nought.

I do not deny but that there may be very many good experiences gain'd by travel; but very few do, in respect of those, which do not improve that advantage: whence it often comes to pass, when a great number of these come to write themselves men, being unable to read books for want of those principles of learning they might have gotten, and unwilling to settle themselves in other good employments, whereby they might be enabled to give a fair account of their precious time, they often learn to drink, swear, rant, game, and court women, (to speak it in the modestest sense) or to spoil good cloaths, they resolving to enjoy the pleasures that are present, as if they had been born to no other end, but to sit down, and to eat and drink, and to rise up to play.

Hh 4

Hence

Hence with those mad youngsters mentioned in the booke of Wisdom, they say one to another, "Come let us enjoy the good things that are present, let us fill ourselves with costly wine, and let not the flower of the spring pass by us; let us crown ourselves with rose buds, before they be withered, let none of us go without his part of voluptuousness, let us leave tokens of our joyfulness or jollity, in every place, for this is our portion, and our lot is this"—leading such lives as the very Heathens do abhor.

For they will deny themselves nothing that may please their sensual appetites, not wine in bowls, nor forbidden flesh, nor any thing beside; while they feed without fear, and drink without measure, and swear without feeling, and live without God, dancing a round, about the mouth of Hell, into which they fall and perish everlastingly, before they are aware, not considering how others have sped which have so done before them. As Adonijah's feast ended in horror, so Belshazzar's banquet, concluded with a cup of wrath; so the Philistines, mirth in their unavoidable ruin. And thus the peaceable days of the wicked are described, who spend their lives in pleasure, and suddenly they are in Hell; all their whole mirth put together, being but as the merry madness of one hour; for they must assure themselves, that when their meal is ended, a great and heavy reckoning will follow.

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Of all the ages of men, there is no time of life whereon we may ground more hope, and more fear, than in childhood and youth; and therefore those parents, who would have comfort in their children, must look very carefully to their first seasoning; for as it was the policy of the King of Babylon, Dan. i. iv. to have the children of the Jews, and not the old men, to be taught the language of the Chaldeans; so it is the subtilty of the Devil, to have children, while they are very young, train'd up in strange language, and to have them corrupted with evil habits; which may make them like a vessel, that hath ill liquor put into it at first, taste of their first seasoning, while life remaineth.

That dangerous time of youth, by the envy, cunning, and help of Satan, carries very many young men, left too much unto themselves, into most shameful courses; they being of themselves like a ship on the main ocean, that hath neither helm, nor compass, and therefore moves, it knows not whither; or in this, like weak limb'd children, who, if they be suffer'd to go too much, and too soon, lame themselves for ever.

Yet many think that in that time of life, their youth gives them some liberty and privilege, *aliquid ætati juvenum est concedendum*, they say, which words abused, make them the Devil's dispensation, and not God's; though they may fondly and falsely suppose, that because

cause they are young, they may be borne withal in any thing ; as if pride, drunkenness, whoredom, and the like fearful exorbitances, were not faults in youth ; they not considering that want of years and want of judgment (which judgment enables to put a right difference 'twixt good and evil) usually go together ; and that youth is like unto green wood, which is ever shrinking and warping ; for, as with the antient there is wisdom, Job xii. 12. so pampered and ungoverned youth is commonly rash, heady, insolent, wedded to its own will, led by humour, a rebel to reason, a subject to passion, fitter to execute than to advise ; and because youth cannot consider as it should, it is no marvel, if it so often miscarry. The ways of youth being steep, and slippery, wherein it is very hard to stand, as very easy to fall, and to run into most fearful exorbitances ; it being the usual manner of young men, so much to intend (as they falsely think) the love of themselves, in the love of their pleasures, as that they cannot attend the love of God ; and therefore that man may much better hope to come safely and happily unto the end of his course, who hath passed over his first journey (I mean his youth) well.

But, (which is a very great hindrance unto many young men, when they do but begin to enter upon their way) there are many parents which do not desire that their children should be good betimes, they being misled by one of the
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the Devil's proverbs, which is, "a young faint, an old devil." It is true, that some, who have been wild and wicked in youth, have proved good in age; but it is a most tried truth, to encourage the growth of early holiness, which hath been made good by much experience, that "a faint in youth, an angel in age."

And truly, very many children may thank their parents for much of the evil that is in them, beside their birth sin, poisoning them, (as they do) by their evil examples; children confidently believing that they may lawfully do any thing they see their parents do before them; hence Juvenal speaks well,

Maxima debetur pueris reverentia—

Therefore parents should take heed what they do, or what they speak before their children. As 'tis written of wise Cato, (though an Hea-then) that he was wont to carry himself with as much gravity before his children, as if he had been before the senate of Rome; the neglect of which care, shall give children cause one day to speak that in truth unto their parents, which Zipporah sometimes spoke unadvisedly unto her husband Moses, when he had circumcised her son, Ex. iv. 25. "surely a bloody husband art thou unto me," so these will say to their parents, that they have been bloody fathers and bloody mothers unto them, in giving them a serpent, when they should have
given

given them a fish, a stone when they should have given them bread; in teaching them to swear, when they should have taught them to pray; undoing them by their evil, when they might have done them much good by their holy and unblameable examples, as also by their early instruction, and their timely correction, which might have prevented, (through God's blessing) their rushing into the pit of ruin.

But why parents thus generally fail in their duties, we need not much marvel, if we consider the carelessness, or rather inability of most parents to instruct their children.

*Scilicet expectas ut tradet mater honestos,
Aut alios mores quam quos habet. Juv.*

No mother can good precepts give,
Who hath not learn'd herself to live.

It is not to be hoped, that parents should give their children better precepts, than they have learn'd themselves.

But here I must prevent an objection, and 'tis this, that if parents be not wanting in their duty herein, it is not all the care they can possibly have, which of itself can make good children: For how many good children have fallen from bad loins, and how many gracious parents, (to their greatest grief) have been the fathers and mothers of most untoward children; the reason is, because goodness doth not, like lands and goods, descend from parents to chil-

children; for God will be the free giver and bestower of all his graces, and will have mercy on whom he will have mercy. So then, if our children be good, we must thank God for that; if evil, they must thank us, and themselves; us, for their birth-sin, and many times for more of their evil, than so, (as before) themselves for the improvement of that evil in the ways of wickedness.

However, we may conclude this as a rule, that those children of all others, (in all probability) are like to prove best, who have been best seasoned in their young years; for "train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." Prov. xxii. 6.

In the wars 'twixt Syria and Israel, there was a little maid of Israel taken by the Syrians, 2 Kings 5. and she was put to wait upon the wife of Naaman, the Syrian: That Naaman was a great man with his master the King of Syria, and honourable, saith the story, &c. but he was a leper, and that stain of leprosy fauced all his greatness so much, that the poorest man in Syria would not have changed place with him, to have his skin to boot. There is no greatness that can exempt a man from the most loathsome and wearisome conditions; doubtless that leprosy must needs be a grievous burden to that great peer. The maid of Israel tells her mistress, would to God my lord were with the prophet, which is
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in Samaria, for he would recover him of his leprosy. Her mistress presently tells her Lord, who upon this report, immediately repairs to that prophet, and is healed of his disease. I report that story, to this end, that it is very good for parents to acquaint their children while they be young, with the knowledge of God, and of his prophets, for we do not know what great good they may do by it. The general neglect of which, and of many other duties of parents, for the good and welfare of their children, as the great failings of others, (I have named) in their several relations, are principal and most apparent causes of the distemper and sickness of the whole body of this nation, even from the sole of the foot, unto the crown of the head,

Never such liberty taken by youth of all sorts, of both sexes, as now. How generally do they forget God, the guide of youth; for how do they slight him by that irreverence they shew in religious duties, they being seduced in ways that carry them from religion, and consequently from God. What lightness, looseness, pride, drunkenness, and prophane-ness, may be observed in too-too many of them. What a general debauchery expressed by wickedness in life, hath eaten into the manners of such multitudes of the younger sort of people, more by far in the present, than in foregoing times; whence it comes to pass, that there never was such a scarcity of good servants,

servants. So that if Almighty God, (that can do what he will do) do not please to put curbs on them, that may reform, or restrain them, the succeeding age is like to prove a monstrous generation.

How much uncharitableness and censoriousness, that is accompanied in some with blindness of mind, and consequently with error, about the things of God, hath taken up the thoughts of many more of riper years.

And lastly, there is so much covetousness, which turns so many wholly into themselves, without respect had unto any others, which makes so many steer their course for wealth, esteeming any thing that may be gotten, to be good gain, being resolved to be rich, however they come by wealth, though that they get, be like the waters of Bethlehem, 2 Sam. xxiii. 17. which David there calls blood, because gotten with so much hazard and jeopardy of their lives, that got those waters; so of the lives and souls too of those that get this wealth; and yet for all this, for Judas's wages they will do Judas's work; they want pieces of silver, and must have them as Judas had, though they earn them as dearly, and suffer for them as deeply as Judas did; esteeming gain, godliness, when it is godliness that is gain; the hearts of so many are so bent upon, and run after their covetousness, in these present, untoward, and self-seeking times.

The prophet Isaiah once cry'd, Isa. xlv. 8.
" O ye Heavens, drop down righteousness!"
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when righteousness was taken up into the clouds: So may we say, O ye Heavens drop down kindness, love, charity, in our times, that people may know that they were not born only for themselves, that they came not into the world to laugh, and joy, and rejoice to themselves, nor to eat and drink, or to thrive and grow rich, and to live alone to themselves, and to their own private relations, but for others, who stand in need of them, who by the very prerogative of mankind, may challenge an interest in their succour and service.

The consideration whereof, bids me turn back mine eyes again, upon some fore-mentioned passages in this relation, that set forth the most excellent moralities which shine in those Indians, and by reflexion do very much shame us. And this doth further make me call to mind a passage in Erasmus, in that colloquy of his called, *convivium religiosum*, where admiring Socrates, an Heathen, upon the same account, said, that he could hardly forbear sometimes to cry out, *Sancte Socrates oro pro nobis*: Now, (as before I have observed, again and again) that Heathens should out go us in any way that is safe and good, that they should outstrip us as they do, us that have so much advantage of them in the way, us that have so much assurance, (if we run well in the race set before us, and chalk'd out to us) to get the better of them in the end; that Heathens (I say) should walk in many things

so exactly, and being but Heathens, do so, as it marvellously condemns, so it may deeply humble many of us, who bear the names of Christians, and make us passionately to cry out, and say—Oh Religion ! thou, (when thou art professed in purity and power) which bindest God to man, and man to God ! where art thou ? What is become of thee ? Whither art thou gone ? Whither departed ? Where shall we seek thee ? Where find thee ? If not very much amongst those which profess thee, some (and they the greatest number by far) lay thee altogether aside ; some make thee to consist too much in forms, and others, as much in affected phrases, which are made by many a new Shibboleth, to distinguish one man from another. A very great number make this a compliment ; as others a cloak ; some slight thee, and others think themselves above thee ; some make thee, an any thing, and some, an every thing, and some, a nothing ; and yet for all this, it is true of very many, by reason of their great unsettledness,

*That while they run into these wide extremes,
Religion, and conscience are their themes.* /

Without all doubt, Machiavel's position is no good divinity, which adviseth men, to take up the profession of religion, but to slight the practice and power thereof.

Da justum sanctumque videri.

As if they resolved to make the church of Christ a theatre or stage to act a part on; as if it were enough for a man to seem good, and not be so.

But let all assure themselves, that their sin, their own sin, will first or last discover them, find them out; when they shall further, by sad experience feel, that the revenges of Almighty God, are never so deadly, never fall so heavily upon sinners, as after they have had most way in sinning; and that God will find a time to pull off all people's vizards. "Thamar muffles herself to take a short pleasure" Gen. xxxviii. 15. and others muffle their consciences for a time; but as Thamar was discovered, so shall all hearts be laid open, and pull'd out of their thickets wherein they would hide themselves, as Adam, when he had sinn'd would have done, Gen. iii. when a man shall say to his conscience, as Ahab, sometimes spake unto Elias. "hast thou found me, O mine enemy?" certainly, if the breasts of many were ript up, the wounds, and rents, and breaches, which guilt hath made there, would most visibly appear.

Tuta esse scelera, secuta non possunt.

—A man may think to sin without danger for a time, but never, without fear. Oh this conscience, when it is thoroughly awaken'd, will appear to be a very strange, a terrible thing, if it be full of guilt, for then it will
swell

ſwell ſo big, as that it will be ready to break open the breaſt of him that bears it. *f*

And it would do ſo, but for theſe reaſons ;
1, becauſe it is many times hoodwink'd, mask'd, or ſeared as with a hot iron, having the mouth of it (as before) bung'd up, or hoof'd over ; and this makes it not to ſee, or to be ſenſible of its preſent condition.

And 2, a man, by the malice and cunning of Satan, may be brought to eſteem the doing of things good, which in themſelves are moſt horrid and damnable. Now conſcience is to the ſoul, as it is repreſented to it ; “ the time ſhall come, that he which kills you ſhall think he doth God good ſervice,” and upon this falſe ground, a man may be never troubled at the acting of the worſt things ; they ſhall think they do God good ſervice ; but they do but think ſo, and ſhall firſt or laſt, be made to pay dear for ſo thinking, and ſo doing.

But however, this will be found a truth, — that conſcience is ever marked and obſerved by her own eye, though no other eye perceive her ; followed ſhe is, and chaſed by her own foot, though nothing elſe purſue her ; ſhe flies, when no man follows, and hath a thouſand witneſſes within her own breaſt, when ſhe is free from all the world beſide ; ſhe is a worm that ever gnaweth, a fire that ever burneth ; and though a guilty man could eſcape the hands of the ever-living God, yet ſhould he find it miſery enough, and more than he could

possibly bear, to lie under the rack or lash of a never dying conscience; the consciences of the wicked being so filled with the guilt of sin, that there is no room left for the peace and consolation of God to dwell in them. / Cain felt this weight, like a talent of lead upon his soul, which he thought could never be removed, and therefore he utters a blasphemy against the grace of God, never to be pardoned; for if he could have been as forward to ask pardon for his sin, as he was to seek protection for his body, he might have found it: But, *Nemo polluto queat animo mederi*, no cure so difficult as the cleansing and healing of a polluted soul, no balm in Gilead, no physician there can of himself help it; and as all the wealth of the world cannot buy off the guilt; so all the waters in the sea cannot wash off the filth of one sin.

———— *Arctoum licet,
Meotis in me gelida transfundat mare,
Et tota Tethys per meas currat manus,
Hærebit altum facinus.*

Said the guilty man.

—— The northern sea,
Though cool Meotis pour on me,
And th' ocean through my hands do run,
Guilt dy'd in grain, will yet stick on.

Oh this fear, when it takes its rise from guilt,
is a most terrible thing. It is written of Ti-
berius,

berius, the Emperor, (a very politic and subtle, but a most prodigiously wicked man, who to compass his ends the better, was *summus simulandi & dissimulandi artifex*, a very masterpiece of dissimulation) that for a time he seemed to stand in awe of no power either in Heaven or earth; but after this monster had retired himself from Rome to Capriæ, for the more free enjoyment of his most noisome lusts, in process of time he had such terrors fell upon him, and his natural conscience did so perplex him, as that he came to be afraid of every thing, as of his friends, his guard; nay he became like Pashur, whom the prophet Jeremy calls *Magor-missabib*, a terror to himself; like the man in the tragedy, who would fain have run out of himself, saying, *Me fugio, &c.* I fly from myself, guiltiness would fain keep out of sight; and such shall one day be the horror of the damned, as that they would hide themselves, if it were possible, even in Hell.

“A wounded spirit who can bear!” It is written of Caius Marius, and of Mutius Scævola, (men famous in the Roman history) that the first of them patiently endured the cutting off his flesh, the other the burning off his right hand. A wounded estate, a wounded name, a wounded head, a wounded body, may be endured; but a wounded spirit, a wounding conscience, is insupportable; cannot be borne, cannot be endured; being like

unto a gouty joint, so fore and tender, as that it cannot endure itself; the truth of all this being known by sad experience of all those, who either have been, or for the present are pressed down under the weight thereof.

I will now draw towards the conclusion of this discourse; but shall first make this request unto him that reads it, that I may not be mistaken in any particulars laid down in my many digressions, for my witnesses are in Heaven, and in my own bosom too; that I desire to be angry and offended at nothing so much, as at that which angers and displeaseth Almighty God, hating that which is evil in all; and as far as I can know my own heart, am desirous to do it in myself first, and most. But the sad consideration of the strange and still increasing wickedness of this nation (wherein we breath) bid me take leave, to enlarge myself far in this case, and to rebuke sharply or cuttingly, to go to the very quick; I say, the wickedness of this nation, to whom that of the prophet Jeremiah, may be fitly applied, that we are waxen fat, we shine over-passing the deeds of the wicked, putting far from us the evil day, while we laugh out the good, lying under the most heavy weight, both of spiritual and other judgments, but feel them not; having been like Solomon's fool, that could laugh, when he was lashed; in many things justifying Turks, Pagans, Heathens, in being corrupted more than they all; our sins being like that tree which
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Nebuchadnezzar saw in his vision, whose top reached up to Heaven, and hath spread itself in its branches over all the parts of the earth here below.

But I shall not lead my reader into a dark and melancholy cloud, and leave him there; for notwithstanding these sad and horrible truths that I have named, I must say this, that if God have a people, a church, in any place under Heaven, (which none but an Atheist, or a Devil, will make a doubt of) they may be found in this nation, and in that we may take comfort, for they are the righteous that deliver the island, the remnant that keep it from desolation; and were it not for those few, whom the very great multitudes, among whom they are mingled, scorn and hate, this nation could not continue; which should make the wicked of this land, if not out of piety, yet, (if they understood themselves) out of policy, to love and respect those, for whose sake, they fare so much the better.

God hath had a church long planted in this nation, and I dare say, that since the gospel hath been published to the world, it was never preached with more power than it hath been here in these latter times; As for our forefathers, they, instead of the food of life, issuing from the two breasts of the church, the law and the gospels, were made to feed on mouldy and fennowed traditions; the book of God was sealed up from them in an unknown

tongue, which they could neither understand nor read; but for us at this present day, our temples are open, we may come; our bibles are englished, we may read; our pulpits frequented, we may hear; and from these considerations ariseth a great cause both of wonder and grief (unto every one who loves the glory of God, the happiness of his country, and the good of himself and relations) to consider, that here, where there is so much light and truth, light to guide, and truth to settle men in the way of life and salvation, there should be so much wavering, wandering, and wickedness./

For ask among the Heathens who hath done such things? the virgin Israel hath done very filthily, or an horrible thing; as if the prophet had said, in other language, strumpets, harlots, prostitutes, (who sell their souls with their bodies) had done but their kind, but for Israel, whom I have esteemed as a virgin, for England, which I have owned above all the nations of the earth, to do such and such things, who would have thought it? Nay, further, (as before) considering all the means, that we of this nation have had, above all the nations in the world beside, to teach us to know God, and the great variety of mercies we have enjoyed, to provoke us to love God, (that have had the wind and sun of all other people) the sun shines not upon a nation, (if we be considered collectively, and together) worse than we are,

It

It was sometimes prophesied of Jerusalem, that Jerusalem should become so bad, that it should justify Sodom, Ezek. xvi. we of this nation, (considered as before) are a people that justify Jerusalem. Oh what proficients have we been in the school of Satan; when, as those sins, which the Apostle would not have so much as named among Christians, have been so common amongst us, so that we may boldly say, how that Sodom and Gomorrah, and those other cities, which Almighty God overthrew in anger, and repented not, those cities which suffer the just and eternal vengeance of Almighty God, lie not in ashes for greater sins than have been committed amongst us.

But I can take no pleasure to be long raking in filthiness and corruption; I will therefore make haste to give over this unpleasing, unsavoury, and nauseating discourse; the rather, because I know that neither counselling nor declaiming against the sins of the present times, doth much good. This I believe, that if I were filled with a spirit of falsehood, and could prophecy of wine and strong drink, my book would want no buyers to read, and like it: But I shall leave that discourse unto those that have not heard of death in the pot; for my part, I shall desire to be inrolled in the number of those, who can wish with the prophet Jeremy, that their heads were waters, and their eyes fountains of tears, &c. and that they had in the

the wilderness a lodging place, that they might set down and weep day and night for the sins of the nation and places where they live ; that they might sit down, and weep, and weep over and over again, those sins ; sigh and cry for the abominations they must needs take notice of ; by which retirement they might be freed from seeing and hearing, and from vexing their souls, from day to day, at the unlawful deeds, and filthy conversation of others, and have better leisure to think themselves out of this wicked world.

Oh what cause have we of this nation to believe, that judgment is near, when the Lord hath try'd us every way, and all, hath done us no good. As first, God hath been exceeding good unto us in many favours, so that it might have been said of England, (as one speaks of Israel) that the Lord made that people a president of his love and favour, that all the nations of the world might learn by them, from their example, what God could do, and what he would do for a people whom he loved ; but we have not been bettered by these benefits, and doubtless if any amongst us had been so blinded with light, and sick of being well, the body of this church and state had never received such wounds as seem incurable. Oh if we had not sinn'd away our mercies, God would never have taken away any of his loving kindneses from us ; but our offences have been marvellously increased by our obligations,
there

there being no sins of so deep a dye, as those which are committed against mercy.

The Lord hath try'd us otherwise, his judgments have been in the land; and the keenest of all temporal judgments, the sword, and the sharpest of all swords, that which pierceth deepest, because drawn amongst our own selves, which hath made us our own spoilers, and our own prey, yet we the inhabitants hereof, have not learn'd righteousness; we have been encouraged by peace, and we have slighted that, and we have felt the sword of war, and that hath done us no good.

————— *Sæviior armis*
Libertas nocuit.

Liberty, as it hath been abused, having given us deeper and more dangerous wounds, than ever the sword could; so that neither the majesty of God, nor the mercy of God, the goodness of God, nor the greatness of God, the favour of God, nor the frown of Almighty God, hath wrought upon us to reform us.

Now, all these particulars put together, they may give us great cause to fear, what we shall be made to feel, the weight of many sad conclusions, which for the present we will not regard; as that sin committed and unrepented of, ever leaves a venom and a sting behind it; and therefore, that to sin, is not the way to prosper; that the longer a reckoning runs on, the greater still the sum; and that the further
compass

compass a blow fetcheth about, the heavier still it lights.

I shall speak it again, under how many sad discouragements have many able sober minded, and orthodox ministers of the gospel, laboured in these latter times; who, as if they had not enemies enough abroad, find them at home in their own house, their own coat, *propriis penis configimur*, wounded we are by our own quills, by some who are excellent at close bites, and though they speak us fair, can open their mouths as wide against us as any others, and then when we deserve nothing but well; as the Athenians by their Ostracisme would punish desert, and crown ignorance. But vessels that are most hollow and empty, make the greatest sound and noise; and as love thinketh no evil, so envy, can speak no good; we need not wonder at this, when we consider that men of the highest deservings, have many times had the worst usage.

And then, if we find such dealing from amongst ourselves, we need not marvel at any thing we suffer from others, from any, from all that do not think well of us, that do not love us, and for that reason which Martial expresseth in this epigram.

*Non amo te, Sabidi, nec possum dicere quare,
Hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te.*

I do not love, I love not Sabide,
My reason of dislike, I know not why.

When

When the Cynick was asked what beast did bite forest and worst, he answered, of tame beasts a flatterer, and of wild beasts a slanderer: Many a good man sometimes feels the teeth of both these; of the tame beasts, who when they creep into their bosoms will spit in their faces; of the wild beasts, by their detractions, slanders, censures, prejudices, contradictions, and what not; who make their tongues worse than the tongues of dogs, for they are medicinable, they cure, they heal, but the tongues of these, are sharp; they wound, they kill.

But in regard that it is the nature of these beasts thus to do, a wise and a good man, who deserves well, yet hears ill, hath no more cause to be troubled at it, than the bright and full moon going on her course, hath at the barking of many dogs.

And as some speak evil of us, because we do not run with them to the same excess of riot, to distemper, and overthrow our bodies; so others, will not abide us, because we cannot come up to them in a like luxuriency and rankness of opinions, to disturb our brains, and to destroy our souls.

Now further, how have the ministers of the gospel, in these last times, (wherein the world grows worse and worse) been discouraged in the neglect that many find for the pains taken in their great work, their own proper means and maintenance withheld from them
by

by the fraud and the deceit of some, and forceably taken away by the power and violence of others, and grudgingly paid them by many more; as if that greatest of all works, the work of the ministry, deserved no wages.

— And lastly, (which is more and worse) what grievous heart-breakings do the faithful ministers of the gospel meet withal in their pains; a very great abundance of that spiritual seed of the word they sow, so continually miscarrying, upon the thorny, hard, rocky, barren hearts of their hearers. /

It was an excellent commendation that Quintilian gave of Vespasian the Emperor, that he was *Patientissimus veri*, most patient to hear and to entertain truths. How happy should we be, if our hearers in general deserved the like praise; but truth is not for every one's, nay for few men's turn, *Ergo inimici*, a strange conclusion therefore, and for this reason, this very reason, are we esteemed many men's enemies, because we tell them the truth; as St. Paul was long since accounted, Gal. iv. 16.

Some, that live in great and gross sins, cannot endure to have those their sins ripp'd up, or laid open; dealing with us herein, as a mad-man doth with a surgeon, flying in his face, when he goes about to open a vein that might recover him out of his madness; or like a deformed person, who breaks the looking-glass that shews him his deformity.

When

When our blessed Saviour fed the people, they resolved presently to make him a King, John vi. but after, when he rebuked their vile manners, they cry'd, crucify him, crucify him, let him be crucified, John xix.

I have formerly heard from many of the Scottish nation, (and I do believe the report is very true) that if a man did preach against their bishops, while they were halling them down, they would hear him with a great deal of seeming attention, it did so please their humour; but if the same man told the people afterward, of their swearing, drunkenness, whoring, or the like, they would cry, "wha, wha, what doth the man ail? what would the man have?" There are very few, or none, but will be very well content that we should meddle with other men's matters, with other men's faults, while we let theirs alone; as Herod seemed to hear John the Baptist gladly, 'till he mentioned Herodias./

Thus the Priest of Bethel, though he could not abide that Amos in his prophesy should grate upon the house of Israel, yet if he would fly into the land of Judah, and prophesy there, he was not against that. And though that the Jews could not endure that Jeremy should meddle with the burden of Judah and Jerusalem, yet if he would prophesy against Edom, and Moab, and Ammon, he might for all them. Men's dainty ears cannot endure to have their own sins touch'd, because truth,
like

like light, is of a discerning nature, and makes things manifest. Hence evil men love darkness more than light, because their works are evil; as dark shops are best for bad wares. Light is good, but to bad eyes offensive; honey is sweet, but to wounds smarting: So truth is wholesome, but to guilty men distasteful; like the bloody waters in Egypt, sweet and potable to the Hebrews, (as Josephus reports) but so unfavoury to the Egyptians, as that they would not down.

As they write of some creatures that they have gall in their ear, *fell in aure*; so the hearing of some truths distates many, like waters of wormwood, which may make a new proverb, bitter as truth, for this, many times puts some men into the gall of bitterness, angers, nettles them; as ulcerous men use to shrink at the lightest touch, yea sometimes to cry out at the very suspicion of touching. So that we are often driven to this dilemma; if we desire to please, we must not speak truth; for if we tell truth, we cannot please.

— Tell a politician this truth, that, *Summa ratio est quæ pro religione facit*, that that's the best, the strongest reason, which makes most for religion, and that the best policy which makes most for piety; this truth crosseth his purposes, projects, designs, and therefore he cannot abide it.

— Acquaint a covetous man with that truth, spoken by St. Paul, that the love of money

is the root of all evil, (because every sin, either directly or consequently, springs from covetousness) you offer him loss, you are a trespasser to his trade, an enemy.

— And let that truth, spoken by St. Peter, be pressed upon a filthy voluptuous person, that fleshly lusts war against the soul, he regards you not, but though he perish in his lust, he will enjoy the pleasures that are present.

— Thus other sinners either question or quarrel at the truths that are told them: Censure and hatred being the antient lot of truth; censure of the message, and hatred to the bearer.

When Lot came unto his sons in law, then living in Sodom, and acquainted them with God's purpose immediately to burn that, and other adjacent cities, though he warned them as a prophet, and admonished them as a father, that if they loved their lives they must presently quit that place, they would not hearken unto him; but as Livie observes of others, (though in another case) *nec morbum ferre possunt, nec remedium*, that they were troubled both at their sickness and cure; so these sons in law of Lot, might happily be a little startled, at the report that Sodom should be destroyed; but more troubled at the thought of leaving Sodom, which was, as the garden of the Lord, before it was destroyed; and that special love they did bear to that place, might stir up their infidelity to question the truth of that threat, and to reason the case haply thus;

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Who

Who ever yet knew it to rain fire ? and whence should that brimstone come ? and if it must rain fire and brimstone, why rather upon Sodom, and Gomorrah, than upon other places ? and therefore they were very willing to believe that their father in that menace mocked them, in telling them a fable, or fancy of his own head ; upon which they resolve to put it to an adventure, rather to stay and burn in Sodom, than to live and be safe and happy, out of it : And therefore, because they would not part with the company of the Sodomites, they are justly wrapt together in their condemnation and punishment, *quos perdere vult Deus bos dementat*. Wisdom enters not into the hearts of those which are allotted to destruction ; for God many times infatuates, when he means to destroy ; as in the example of Pharaoh, who could neither consider nor fear, because it was his time to perish : Pharaoh had warnings enough if he could have taken them, but after all, he neglects God, and trusts in his chariots, who did serve him, (as every thing shall serve others trusted to instead of God) they bring him into the midst of the sea, and there leave him to perish miserably ; where he sees not his misery, 'till he feels it ; nor feels it, 'till he could not possibly avoid it. It was even thus with the sons in law of Lot, of whom it might have been spoken, as it was afterward of the sons of Eli, they hearkened not unto the voice of their father, because the
Lord

Lord would slay them ;. the sons in law of Lot were sufficiently made acquainted with their near approaching danger, but all in vain, for the monitions of God harden the wicked : — Hence, to carnal minded men, preaching is foolishness, devotion is idleness, the prophets mad-men, and Paul a babler.

St. John tells us in his third epistle, and — fourth chap. that he could have no greater joy, than to hear, that those he had taught, did walk in the truth ; that is, did live in some measure as they were taught ; which indeed is the joy and rejoicing, the crown of every faithful minister of the gospel. On the other side, there can be no greater grief, unto those who watch over men's souls, to keep them safe, and above all things desire by the ministry of the word, to bring them from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God, pressing upon them all arguments they can possibly invent which may persuade them to suffer God, through Jesus Christ, to save their souls ; and when this is done, to find all their labour lost, all their strength and endeavour to be spent in vain ; the spiritual sword of the word having had its edge and point broken off, and battered upon the stony hearts of their hearers, which it could not pierce. Oh, this is an argument of discourse and discouragement above all other arguments that can be thought on, unto those who know how to value a precious soul, and to desire its salvation. /

— And truly, (which was before pointed at) if parents do not assist us in the ordering of their children, and masters of servants, in the reforming of their families; and to these, if magistrates suffer their swords to rust in their scabbards, rather than to draw them out in our assistance, that they may reach scandalous offenders, whom the sword of the word cannot pierce, we may preach 'till our tongues cleave to our gums, or fasten to the roofs of our mouths, and all to little purpose. And I must further add, that if all I named before do their parts, the voice of the minister will be too weak, the sword of the magistrate too short, for to reach and bring down rebellious sinners unto the obedience of Christ, unless the mighty arm of the Lord be revealed in his ordinances; yet however, because the ministry of the word is the ordinary means which almighty God hath appointed and sanctify'd, to convert souls unto him, (not excluding other means that tend to this end) there might be a very great hope of doing God much service this way, by this present generation, if magistrates and ministers, and others in their several places, did endeavour with all their might to preach down sin, to smite down sin, to pray down sin, and to live down sin.

— But sad experience shews that it is far otherwise. And it is a most evident sign that the destruction is near, when the messages from God, and the messengers of God, are, as in these

these days, so generally neglected; when the faithful dispensers of God's ordinances, who are spiritual physicians, have improved all their skill to cure men's itching ears, to soften their hard hearts, and to heal their head-distempers, and have done every thing beside, that lies in their compass, to further the salvation of their hearers, but all in vain; And therefore, that which was once said to Babylon, Jer. li. 9. may be applied to this nation; we would have healed England, and she would not be healed. After which, it were most just, (when exhortations and reproofs, spoken and prest in the name of the Lord, can do no good) for Almighty God to say unto his prophets of England, (as he did to them in Babylon) forsake it, up, be gone, spend your breath here no longer in vain, apply no more medicines for such as are past cure, get you to the Heathens, they will hear your voice; go to Africa, America, or India, and there eat your bread; sanctify unto me a people that were not a people, fetch me sons and daughters from far; let the barren bear children, and let them that might have been fruitful be barren: I have been served with the sins of England a long time, I am weary of bearing them any longer; and therefore, let them from henceforth lie, die, and perish, and rot in their iniquities.

Oh 'tis the curse of all curses, the very bottom of the vial, and dregs of the vengeance

of Almighty God, when upon a continued slighting and neglecting of his messages and messengers, they are willed to relinquish their accustomed flocks, and to carry the word they have to deliver, unto foreigners and strangers, as Paul and Barnabas told the Jews at Antioch, Acts xiii. 46. "it was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken unto you; but seeing you put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo we turn to the Gentiles." The Jews there neglect the word of God; and the loss of this word of God shall lose them their credit, liberty, peace, prosperity, and salvation, both in their own days, and in the days of their children's children. Where note, that gospel and everlasting life are joined together, and that the neglect of the one, is the loss of the other. / Lo we turn to the Gentiles; wild, neglected, and unnatural branches, they will hear our voice. And Acts xviii. 6. when the Jews at Corinth opposed themselves, and blasphemed, Paul shook his raiment, and said, "your blood be upon your own heads, I am clean, from henceforth I will go to the Gentiles." When they resisted his person, and blasphemed his doctrine, he shook his raiment against them, saying, your blood be upon your own heads; as if he had said, I found you the children of death, and so I leave you; grow in your filthiness and unrighteousness, 'till you have fulfilled the measure

sure of your forefathers ; for my own part I wash my hands in innocency, I can free my soul in the sight of God, I was careful to apply my cures unto the hurts of Corinth, but they would not be healed.

Which thing, if the Lord in just judgment ever suffer to befall this land ; as there are not very many months passed, since there was a great and strong endeavour by some, (who fetched their councils from the depths of Hell) to remove both candlesticks and candles out of it ; that so the people of this nation might have returned again to Ægypt, and in time become brutes, Atheists, and worse than Heathens : For if it be true of human learning, *emollit mores*, that it softens and sweetens men's manners ; it is more true of that knowledge which is divine and spiritual, without which people may grow barbarous, as in all probability this whole nation might have done, if the Lord had not appeared in the mount, and by an immediate providence prevented it. I say, if any such thing ever happen to this land, they who shall be so unhappy as to live to the sight of that woful day, may borrow those words which that poor distressed woman sometimes uttered, in the extreme bitterness of her soul, saying, 1 Sam. iv. 22. "the glory is departed, the ark of God is taken, (and again) the glory is departed." If this, I say, ever happen to this land, (which the mercy and goodness of Almighty God forbid)

it may be then said, that judgment hath both begun and made an end with it; and that the case of it would be more desperate, than if the ground of this island had opened her jaws, and in one common grave buried all her inhabitants,

— But blessed be God, prophets are yet in England, and long may they continue in it; the pearl is yet to be found in our field, the gospel is yet amongst us. Oh that as we have the sound thereof daily in our ears, the letter of it walking through our lips, so we might see the power thereof more manifested in our lives. To speak a few words more of those Indians, with reflection still upon ourselves; let us consider, that as the ground is more or less manured, so 'tis expected it should bring forth fruit accordingly, some an hundred, and some fifty, and some thirty fold, some more, some less, but all some: Five talents must gain other five, two must return two more, and one shall satisfy with less proportion. A child may think, and do, and speak, as becometh a child; but a man must behave himself every way as becometh a man. An Hebrew must live as an Hebrew, not as an Ægyptian. A prophet as a prophet, and not (by drudging and digging) as an husbandman. A believer must live as a believer, and not as an Heathen, or Infidel. A professor of the gospel must walk as a professor of the gospel, not as a libertine, an Epicure, or Atheist. For a wilderness

derness to be barren, there is no wonder at all in that ; but if those trees which have been well husbanded, dung'd, and dress'd, continue still fruitless, they deserve cursing. *Arbori infructuosæ debentur duo, securis et ignis ;* two things belong unto the fruitless tree, the axe to cut it down, and the fire to consume it.

When I have seriously thought on the many and mighty nations, at this day inhabiting the remote parts of the earth, and how that many of them are people that live in happy and most fruitful soils, which afford every thing to please, delight, and to enrich the sons of men in sweet airs ; that being most true of the Psalmist, " the earth hath God given to the children of men," Psal. cxv. 16. to the children of men, who are mere aliens and strangers to God ; many of these enjoying as delectable places as the sun shines on : And for the people themselves, many of them, for flesh and blood, as comely as the earth bears. And further, many of them people, which are provident to forecast, ingenious to invent, and most able and active to perform ; concerning whom, they who have try'd them may further say, surely they are a wise people, and of great understanding ; but considering again, that they enjoying every thing, want every thing, in wanting Christ, it makes their condition in all their enjoyments, which seem to make them happy, most miserable.

To which purpose, Lactantius speaks well of the learning of the Heathen philosophers ;

Omnis

Omnis doctrina philosophorum sine capite, &c.
 that all their learning was without a head, because they knew not God ; and therefore, seeing they were blind, and hearing they were deaf, and understanding, they understood nothing as they ought to have done it. So for outward things, though they have abundance, yet they have nothing, because they have not God, in the right knowledge and understanding of him, as he ought to be known in Christ Jesus./

They want Christ, because they are altogether unacquainted with him ; but if we, who have had such a continual power of him, and have such advantages to know him, by hearing him so often teach in our streets, if we want him, for want of closing with him, and consequently be never a whit the better for him, it will make our estate by far to be more lamentable than theirs. Tyre and Sydon, and Gomorrah and Sodom, and all the people I have named, will speed better at the day of judgment, than we shall do.

These Heathens in East-India, (as I strongly believe) see as far with the eye of nature as it can possibly reach ; and nature itself teacheth them, and teacheth all the world beside, that there is a God, but who this God is, and how this God is to be worshipped, must elsewhere be learn'd. / Thus nature without grace, being like Sampson when his eyes were out, who could not readily find the pillars of the house
 whereia

wherein he was, no more can any man of himself fasten to any pillar or prop of truth, unless the spirit of God instruct and direct him how to do it.

— *Veritatem philosophia quærit, theologia invenit, religio possidet*, faith Mirandula; philosophy seeks truth, divinity finds it, but religion possesseth it; not the face or mask, or visard, or form, but the truth and power of religion; of which something by the way. ✓

The truth and power of religion, I say; for — there have been ever many misconceivings about religion. How many stirs, and quarrels, and heats, have we known, about the list and fringe of Christ's garment, (as one of the most high deserving long since observed) and these mistakes in religion, have made many to agree no better than the bricklayers of Babel, who when their tongues were divided, could not understand one another's speech, but did mistake one thing for another: And thus do many now, who take nature (if but a little refined) for grace, will, for conscience; so a floating knowledge for true wisdom, cruelty for justice, covetousness for frugality, baseness for humility, presumption for hope, a distempered heat for true zeal, and vain credulity for faith. And the reason of all this is, because the best graces have their counterfeits, and from hence come those many mistakes. /

Now for the power and truth of religion, — we shall the better know it, if we first briefly discover

discover what it is not, and then what it is. What it is not : It doth not consist in a bare hearing the word, though heard never so frequently, nor in a bare performance of other duties, which are good in themselves ; though prayers performed ne'er so constantly, long prayers, will not excuse the devouring of widows houses ; nor the doing of other good duties, any the like acts of oppression and violence. Thou preacheest, thou hearest, thou readeest, thou prayest, but how livest thou ? what doest thou ? if these questions cannot be well resolved, all good performances will prove nothing worth.

— Again, the power and truth of religion, is not manifested in a rash censuring, and condemning of others : I am not as other men are, nor as this publican ; you know who said it. It doth not consist in the exalting of a man's self above others, whatsoever his gifts and graces are. It is not to be found meerly in an ability to talk or prattle, or dispute, or wrangle, and after to hold the conclusion, whatsoever may be said against it in the premises.

— But for the truth and power of religion, if we would briefly, and in some particulars know what it is ; it is that, which makes a man labour first to know, and then to believe, and to do whatsoever is to be believed and to be done ; but to believe and do, rather than to know. It is that which makes a man put a better esteem upon others, than upon himself. It is that which

which puts a guard on the lips, a bridle on the tongue, a curb on the will, and gives rules to the affections; which, when they are high and exalted, keep the heart still low; because the more acquaintance the heart hath with God, the more humble it is, even beholding through God's purity, its own vileness; and therefore a man, (in whom the truth and power of religion shines) when he hears of sinners, borrows the Apostle's language, and saith of himself, that I am the chief, for he keeping a continual guard and watch over himself, can accuse himself of a thousand failings and sins, when he is free from all the world beside. This further makes a man to behold indifferent things with obedience, rather than with opposition or dispute; knowing that the wisdom which is from above, is first pure, and then peaceable. /

Briefly, therefore, when the truth and power of religion is separated from the profession thereof, a man's religion is nothing worth; for in this case, there is a small difference 'twixt an Israelite and an Ishmaelite / 'twixt a circumcised Hebrew, and an uncircumcised Philistian; 'twixt a baptised Englishman, and an unwashen Turk: For the barren fig-tree in God's orchard, is in no better case, than the bramble in the wilderness; - for God will lap them both up in the same bundle of condemnation; it being all one, to deny the faith, and not soundly and sincerely to profess it. /

It

— It is reason which makes us men, it is religion that makes us Christians; woe be unto us, that we are born men, if we be not Christians; woe be to us, that we are called Christians, if our lives shame our Christianity; if we be not Christians in deed, and in earnest, as well in name, and in profession so.

We quarrel at the superstition and blind devotion of others: But let us examine our selves, whether superstition in them, hath not a great deal of more heat in it, than religion in us; whether in their blind devotion, the awfulness in their services of God, doth not arraign and condemn irreverence in ours.

Ready we are to judge the Papists for their rash vows of Chastity; but let not us that do so, ever hope that uncleanness will bring us to Heaven. And we that are forward to condemn the Papists for their mad conceivings, about works of supererrogation, must never think that faith without works, will justify us before God: That we, who wonder at such people as I have named in East-India, as at others, for their austerity of life, which they voluntarily and unconstrainedly submit unto, in their will-worships, must never conceive, that doing what we please, what we will, can bring us at last to true happiness. God hath called us (saith the Apostle) to glory and virtue, to virtue and holiness, as the means; to glory and happiness as the end. That therefore of St. Hierom is undoubtedly true, *difficile, imò impossibile*

possibile est, ut quis transeat à deliciis ad delicias &c. that it is an hard, yea an impossible thing, for a man to leap from pleasure to Paradise; here, to have his belly fill'd continually with the delicacies of the creatures, there, to have his mind satisfied with the fulness of joy, and in both worlds to appear glorious.

Stories are fill'd with rare examples of virtue, even in Heathens. Seneca, the philosopher, writes of Sixtius, that when the day was ended, and the night was come, wherein he should take his rest, he would first ask his mind, *quod malum sanasti bodie, &c.*? what evil hast thou healed this day? what vice hast thou withstood? and in what part art thou bettered? I find this recorded of another, who was so exact in his walking, that his whole life was *perpetua censura, &c.* a continual censure of himself. Aristides, for his uprightness, was called the just; and Tully writes of Fabricius, that he was a man who would resolve well, and alter, so unmoveably bent to perform what he had resolved to do, *ut facilius solem è suo cursu, &c.* that you might as soon put the sun out of his course, as Fabricius from his intended purpose. I have observed before, that very many people in East-India, what lets and impediments soever they have, will by no means omit their frequent devotions, nor any other thing they esteem themselves bound to perform, as to God; the far greater shame for Christians, when every
trifle

trifle is sufficient to make such a diversion as may hinder them in religious duties.

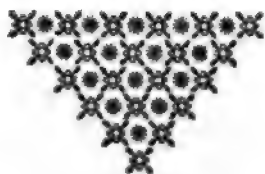
And for many of those Heathens I have spoken of, they live up even to the very height of nature, and want means to lead them further. Now what shall I say more of them? surely thus, that our blessed Saviour liked and loved the young man in the gospel, Mark x. 21. even for that morality he saw in him; "Jesus beholding him, loved him." And so may Almighty God, who is infinite in mercy, look in favour upon many of these poor creatures, that go as far as they can, in shewing them Jesus Christ, and in his face beholding them; for many shall come from the east, and west, and north, and south, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of Heaven.

But this is a consideration lockt up amongst God's secrets; and therefore I dare not pry any more or further into it; neither shall I for the present enlarge myself in this Miscellany; which I could have made to swell into a volume. But if that I have written, be as well taken, as it is well meant, it is enough, if not too much.

However, there are two things which I must add, in relation to myself. The first, (that I may not always lie at the mercy of my reader) is this; *difficile est satyram non scribere*, that if my pen hath let fall any thing in this discourse, unbecoming my calling and years,

years, I most humbly beg pardon for that;
I shall leave the press to make an answer for
itself.

For the second, I shall presume one pardon,
and that is for the leanness and lowness of my
stile, wherewith this relation is cloathed,
when my reader considers, that I lived among
Indians, which made me rude.



Dum in vitâ sumus in viâ.

THIS life's our way, in which, where e'er
we be,

We miss our path, if that felicity
Be not our utmost aim; tow'rs which we meet
With cross-ways, rubs, and streights, that cause
our feet

To stumble or to faint; yet must we on,
What e'er we meet, until our journey's done.

We seek a country, cannot find it here,
Here in this pilgrimage, i'th' whole world, where
The straightest, smoothest paths, which most
do please,

Are clog'd with toil and trouble; but want ease.

Our God and country too are both above;

We keep our way whilst that we thither move,
But lose it when our motion doth not tend

To that hop'd period, which may make our end
Happy and safe. There is no standing still

Here in this life; we do extremely ill,

When we proceed not; for if once we slack

To press towards the mark, we then draw back.

Who therefore sees beyond his eyes, must know

He hath a further journey still to go:

For tho' he could with weary paces get

The world's great round, his tiresome progress yet

Were not all pass'd, still must he think his ear

Fill'd with that voice *Elus* oft' did hear,

What

*What dost thou here, Elias ? up, be gone,
And after many days, still cry'd, go on.
Who follows close God's call, and way runs best,
Till he receive his penny, take his rest.*

*In three parts of the world I've been, now come
To my last journey, that will bring me home.*

Edward Terry.

F I N I S.



